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The
Samaritan Pentateuch
and the Origin of
the Samaritan Sect

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To Kathryn

Preface

As its title indicates, this monograph has two immediate aims: first, to assess the evidence recently brought to light relating to the sectarian redaction of the Samaritan Pentateuch; and, second, to determine the relevance of the conclusions drawn to the problem of the origin of the Samaritan sect. The implications of this evidence for the question of Samaritan origins have recently been noted, although no systematic presentation or evaluation of the materials has appeared in this context. Also, additional data relating to the early history of the Samaritan community are now available to help place this problem in better perspective.

I maintain that the sectarian redaction of the Pentateuch by the Samaritans is the key to the determination of the time when the Samaritan community emerged as a distinct sect; the promulgation of this distinctive edition of the Pentateuch was of such crucial importance in the life of the community that it is difficult to conceive of the sect as a sect apart from it. Previous discussions of the question of the origin of the sect had centered upon the problem of the construction of the Samaritan temple and the incidents relating to it as the most significant event in Samaritan origins. It had been assumed that the promulgation of a sectarian Pentateuch was contemporaneous with this event. It now appears that these two incidents were separated in time, and that the earlier evaluations of the origin of the sect erred in placing the final break between the Samaritans and the

Jews too early. Rather than being contemporaneous with the erection of the Samaritan temple in the early Greek period, the redaction and promulgation of the Samaritan Pentateuch were contemporaneous with the destruction of that temple in the late Hasmonaean period!

In addition to the historical and archaeological data considered here in relating the final rupture between the Jews and Samaritans to the Hasmonaean period, there is another body of material which could profitably be explored to determine when the Samaritans and Jews parted ways. I refer to the theological writings of the Samaritans that exhibit a number of interesting allusions to concepts and terms encountered also in Jewish writings of the Hasmonaean period. It was originally my intention to include a study of these materials as part of this investigation. This thought was finally rejected in favor of a more limited scope, leaving the additional study for a future presentation.

Part of this work is necessarily synthetic; it will be noted that the observations on the relations of the orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch to orthographic traditions of the Hasmonaean period and the remarks on the textual traditions of the Samaritan Pentateuch have been made before. They have not, however, been brought together in relation to the central concerns of this study. The palaeographic study of the Samaritan script found here has not been done before, although the possibility of such a study had been previously suggested. It has been my aim to utilize the available data, and to complete what is lacking, in order to apply to the problem of the origin of the Samaritan sect what is now apparent about the Samaritan Pentateuch.

This study is a revision and expansion of some material originally developed in a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Old Testament at Harvard Divinity School (1962). The influence of Professor Frank M. Cross, Jr., who served as my advisor, is evident throughout. I am indebted to Professor Cross and to Professor G. Ernest Wright, whose encouragement and helpful suggestions proved

invaluable in the work of revision. Appreciation must also be expressed for the criticisms and suggestions of Professor John Strugnell, especially those relating to the finer points of my paleographic analysis. Finally, I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Robert Wright, who rephotographed and enlarged the plates from which my comparative palaeographic charts were drawn.

James D. Purvis
Boston, Massachusetts
August 1967

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ABBREVIATIONS

BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
Birnbaum	S. Birnbaum, <i>Hebrew Scripts</i> , Part Two
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IB	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
IDB	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
Reifenberg, IHC	A. Reifenberg, <i>Israel's History in Coins</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

The sigla used in designating the Qumrân manuscripts and fragments follow generally the standard system adopted in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series:

1Q Ex, Cave One, Exodus fragments
 1Q Deuteronomy^a, Cave One, Deuteronomy fragments, first specimen
 1Q Deuteronomy^b, Cave One, Deuteronomy fragments, second specimen
 1Qp Hab, Cave One, Habakkuk Commentary
 1Q Is^a, Cave One, Isaiah Manuscript
 1Q Is^b, Cave One, Isaiah Manuscript
 1Q Lev, Cave One, Leviticus fragments
 1Q M, Cave One, War Scroll

2Q 2, Cave Two, Exodus fragments, first specimen
 2Q 5, Cave Two, Leviticus fragment
 2Q 7, Cave Two, Numbers fragment, second specimen
 2Q 10, Cave Two, Deuteronomy fragment, first specimen
 2Q 11, Cave Two, Deuteronomy fragment, second specimen
 2Q 12, Cave Two, Deuteronomy fragment, third specimen

4Q Ex^a, Cave Four, Exodus fragments
 4Q Ex^α, Cave Four, Exodus fragments
 4Q Ex^ι, Cave Four, Exodus fragments
 4Q Jer^a, Cave Four, Jeremiah fragments
 4Q Numbers, Cave Four, Numbers fragments
 4Q Sam^a, Cave Four, Samuel fragments
 4Q Sam^b, Cave Four, Samuel fragments

5Q 1, Cave Five, Deuteronomy fragments

6Q 1, Cave Six, Genesis fragment
 6Q 2, Cave Six, Leviticus fragment

8Q 1, Cave Eight, Genesis fragments

Designations used for Samaritan inscriptions and manuscripts are given in Chapter One, Notes 43–45.

The
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Introduction

The Samaritan Sect has survived the erosions of time and fortune to persist to this day as a religious community of minority status in Nablūs and in Ḥolon, Israel.¹ While the sect is well known as a historical curiosity,² it has a far greater importance than its present size or status might indicate. In addition to being important

¹ On the basis of recent conversations with Samaritans in both Israel and Jordan, I would estimate the present Samaritan population at about 400. Prior to June 1967 there were approximately 250 Samaritans residing in Nablūs and 150 in Ḥolon. Since the Israeli occupation of Nablūs, there may have been some movement of Samaritans from one community to the other.

² The Samaritans have been the subject of a number of scholarly inquiries and publications from the seventeenth century to the present time. A recent bibliographical study of Samaritan research was undertaken by L. A. Mayer, and after his death edited by Donald Broadribb: *Bibliography of the Samaritans, Supplements to Abr-Nahrain*, vol. I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964). While this work lists more than 700 titles, it omits a number of important studies and contains a few inaccuracies. Also, its listings (alphabetically, by author, rather than by subject) render it a bit ineffective as a tool. See the reviews by W. Baars (in *VT*, 15 [1965], 285–286) and R. Weiss (in *Tarbiš*, 35 [1966], 400–403), which contain some supplementary materials.

The following are among the more useful general studies of the sect: Yiṣḥaq Ben-Zvi, *spr hšmrwnym: twldwthm, mwšbwtyhm, dtm wšprwtm* (Tel-Aviv: ʔ.y. štybl, 1935); A. E. Cowley, "Samaritans," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, new ed. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901–1906), X, 669–681; Moses Gaster, *The Samaritans: Their History, Doctrine and Literature* (Schweich Lectures, 1923, London: The British Academy, 1925); T. H. Gaster, "Samaritans," in *IDB*, vol. R–Z (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), pp. 190–197; John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (New Testament Library, London: S C M Press, 1964). James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect: Their History, Theology and Literature* (Philadelphia: J. C. Winston, 1907).

as a distinctive religious community in its own right, the sect is of significance both for the biblical scholar and for the student of Jewish sectarianism. The importance of various aspects of the Samaritan tradition has been acknowledged in recent scholarship: to cite but a few examples, the Samaritan Pentateuch in the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible;³ Samaritan Hebrew as a witness to a tradition of non-Masoretic Hebrew;⁴ Samaritan Aramaic in the study of Palestinian Aramaic;⁵ and the study of Samaritan sectarian texts as sources for an understanding of the sect and its relations to Judaism.⁶ Nor is the significance of the sect seen only in a consideration of its literary products. At one time the community was large

³ See the remarks on textual criticism in Chapter One below.

⁴ See Paul Kahle, *Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), pp. 153–159; A. Murtonen, *Materials for a Non-Masoretic Hebrew Grammar*, vol. II: *An Etymological Vocabulary of the Samaritan Pentateuch* (*Studia Orientalia*, vol. XXIV, Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1960). See also his *Materials for a Non-Masoretic Hebrew Grammar*, vol. III: *A Grammar of the Samaritan Dialect of Hebrew* (*Studia Orientalia*, vol. XXIX, Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1964). Samaritan grammatical texts in Arabic have been published by Zev Ben-Hayyim: *ḥbryt wʾrmyt nsh šwmrwn, The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, vols. I and II: *The Grammatical, Masoretic, and Lexicographical Writings of the Samaritans, Critically Edited with Hebrew Translation, Commentary, and Introduction*; vol. III: *Recitation of the Law* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute and the Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1957–1961). See also Jonas C. Greenfield, “Samaritan Hebrew and Aramaic in the Work of Prof. Zev Ben-Hayyim,” *Biblica*, 45 (1964), 261–268.

⁵ A review of studies of Samaritan Aramaic, beginning with the work of Th. Nöldeke, is found in F. Rosenthal, *Die Aramaistische Forschung* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), pp. 133–143. See, most recently, Jose Ramón Díaz, “Arameo Samaritano,” *Estudios Bíblicos*, 18 (1959), 171–182. An extremely important recent contribution to the study of Samaritan Aramaic has been the publication of the *Meliš*, a trilingual (Hebrew-Arabic-Samaritan Aramaic) dictionary from the tenth or eleventh century, in Ben Hayyim, *Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, II, 439–622. Ben Hayyim has provided an index to the Aramaic part of this work and has included in it a number of other Samaritan-Aramaic words, to serve as a provisional dictionary of the dialect (*ibid.*, pp. 642–666).

⁶ The most productive work in this field in recent years has come from Leeds University. It is hoped that the translations and studies of Samaritan texts submitted as graduate dissertations at Leeds will see publication. See the bibliography of these unpublished studies in Macdonald, *Theology of the Samaritans*, pp. 460–461.

enough to exercise considerable influence in northern Palestine and in the areas where its Diaspora had settled (Egypt, Syria, and even Rome).⁷ The Samaritans were important enough to be a subject of controversy in Josephus and the Rabbinic literature, and to be of interest to at least two writers of the New Testament.⁸ The investigation of various aspects of Samaritan history and thought certainly requires no justification or apology.

The particular aspect of Samaritanism with which this monograph is concerned is the vexing question of the origin of the sect: When did the Samaritan sect come into existence as a distinct religious community with its own sectarian monuments, traditions, and teachings? This question has been of perennial interest, although no unanimity of opinion has been established by the host of scholars who have given their attention to it. In turning to this problem, on which much has already been written, I have not been prompted by

For a description of Samaritan literature, see Montgomery, *Samaritans*, pp. 283–316; Moses Gaster, *Samaritans*, pp. 96–158; Ben-Zvi, *spr hšmrwnym*, pp. 169–177, 252–263; Macdonald, *Theology of the Samaritans*, pp. 40–49. See also, Moses Gaster, “Samaritan Literature,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. IV (London: Luzac and Co., 1934), a fifteen-page article included as a separate fascicle at the end of the volume. Gaster accumulated a large library of Samaritan manuscripts, most of which are now in the John Rylands Library, in Manchester. On these, see Edward Robertson, *Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. II: *The Gaster Manuscripts* (Manchester: John Rylands Library, 1962). Recently, Avraham Šadaqa of the Samaritan community in Ḥolon has privately printed a number of the sect’s theological and liturgical texts. These publications include the following important works: *sdwr hplwt: hdptr*, vols. I–II (Ḥolon, 1962); *sdwr hyštbhwt* (Ḥolon, 1963); and *mwld mšh* (Ḥolon, n.d.). The Samaritan liturgy was published early in this century by A. E. Cowley: *The Samaritan Liturgy*, vol. I: *The Common Prayers*; vol. II: *The Text of the Samaritan Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909). The classic work of the Samaritan theologian Marqah (fourth century A.D.) has recently appeared in a critical edition with English translation: John Macdonald, *Memar Marqah: The Teaching of Marqah*, vol. I: *The Text*; vol. II: *The Translation* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, no. 84, Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1963).

⁷ On the Samaritan Diaspora, see Montgomery, *Samaritans*, pp. 148–153; Ben-Zvi, *spr hšmrwnym*, pp. 133–145.

⁸ Luke 9:52; 10:30–37; 17:16; Acts 8:1–25; John 4:1–42. See, however, Matthew 10:5.

a desire to synthesize the work of previous investigations. The immediate reason for this study is the recent discovery of materials relating to the question, materials which not only cast light upon the problem, but which cause it to be seen in new perspective.

The new and relevant materials here alluded to are the texts from Qumrân, the archaeological data from recently excavated Shechem, and the newly discovered papyri from the Wâdî Dâliyeh. The textual materials from Qumrân have supplied data which cast considerable light upon the chief sectarian monument of the Samaritans, their redaction of the Pentateuch. The excavations at Shechem (Balâṭah) have provided information on the resettlement of that site in the late fourth century, and have given data by which the historical sources relating to Samaritan origins can be evaluated. The caves of Wâdî Dâliyeh have yielded papyri of the mid-fourth century (previously a dark age in Palestinian history) relating to the political situation in Samaria prior to its reconstruction as a Macedonian colony in the time of Alexander the Great. The ways in which these materials relate to the question of the origin of the sect are considered in the second chapter. For the present, it is sufficient to note that these discoveries have rendered previous considerations of our problem out of date, and have underscored the necessity of a fresh approach in which the new data can be utilized and the traditional approaches re-evaluated.

The traditional theories of Samaritan origins are considered in Chapter Two. They may be reduced to four basic positions: (1) the view of the Samaritans themselves, that their movement is a perpetuation of the ancient Israelite faith as it was practiced in the pre-monarchal period at Shechem; (2) the counterclaim of Orthodox Judaism, that Samaritanism is a heresy derived from a corrupt Yahwism which developed in northern Palestine after the Assyrian conquest of that region in the eighth century; (3) an interpretation based upon certain passages of Ezra-Nehemiah, collated with materials from Josephus, that the Samaritans broke away from the

Jews in the Persian period; and (4) the view suggested by Josephus himself, that a Samaritan schism occurred in the early Greek period. Each of these positions has its proponents, and each can be and has been argued at great length with no clear resolution.⁹ It is not the purpose of this study to take up one of these positions against the other, but rather to examine all possibilities in the light of the evidence, both old and new. It will be seen that each position has some merit, but that no one view may be espoused without neglect of evidence to the contrary.

Several initial observations need to be made in this regard concerning the problems and limitations of the traditional views of the origins of the sect. First of all, an investigation of the history of the Samaritan community reveals that the so-called Samaritan schism, or withdrawal from the mainstream of Judaism, was not so much an event as a process: a process extending over several centuries and involving a series of events which eventually brought about estrangement between the two communities. It thus becomes difficult to point to one particular situation or incident, at one particular time, and maintain that the Samaritan sect came into being as a result of this. Samaritanism came into being as a religious community as a result of a long history of internal development, and it became separated from Judaism (a closely related movement with which it was never fully integrated) as a result of a number of events which drove the two communities further and further apart. Eventually, there came a time when it was apparent to both Jews and Samaritans that the two were no longer two parts of one movement, but two separate, distinct, and hostile movements. There has been a tendency in the

⁹ See, for example, the bibliography in the two essays by H. H. Rowley: "The Samaritan Schism in Legend and History," in B. W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson, eds., *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), pp. 208-222, and "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," in *BJRL*, 38 (1955), 183-184. (The latter article was reprinted in H. H. Rowley, *Men of God: Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy* [London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1963], pp. 246-276.)

investigation of Samaritan origins to select one or another of the disruptive incidents in the history of relations between Samaria and Judah and declare that it was this, rather than something else, which caused the emergence of the Samaritan sect. This is essentially what the so-called traditional theories do. They fix upon one particular stage in the history of relations between the peoples of Judah and Samaria and maintain that the origins of the sect are to be understood accordingly. When this is done, the question of the origin of the sect often becomes confused with the closely related questions of the origins of the people who made up the sect, or the origins of distinctive elements in the thought of the sect, or the origins of the cultural and religious characteristics of the sect.

Another basic difficulty in weighing the relative merits of the traditional theories of Samaritan origins is the lack of an accepted criterion for determining when Samaritanism emerged as a sect. This is one reason why there are several theories on Samaritan origins. Each theory assumes that there is a specific element of Samaritanism, the presence of which would indicate that the sect existed as distinct from Judaism at a particular time. But the different theories are not in agreement as to what this element of Samaritanism is.¹⁰ For the Samaritans themselves, the primacy of Gerizim is such

¹⁰ It should also be added that there is no general agreement as to the precise meaning of the term "sect" which would serve as an external guideline for determining when the community obtained a "sectarian" status. In the broadest sense, "sect" is used to refer to an organized religious body, usually to one outside of one's own communion. In a more restricted sense, the term is used with a variety of connotations. See the definitions in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1961), p. 2052.

Although there is no archetype to which every group designated a sect will or must conform, I have attempted to maintain some uniformity and precision in my use of the term. It will be observed that this usage understands a sect to be a self-contained religious community with a historic relationship to another larger religious movement, which understands itself and is understood by others as being separated from its related movement. An interesting discussion of the problems of defining a Jewish sect is to be found in Marcel Simon, *Les Sectes juives au temps de Jésus* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), pp. 3-16.

a central element in their thought that the presence of an Israelite cultic center at Shechem appears to them to be the factor determining the origin of their community. Whether there was any kind of continuity between the ancient Israelite cultus at Shechem and the later Samaritan community is another matter, and an important factor in determining the legitimacy of their claim; but their contention is at least understandable and reasonable. The counterclaim of Orthodox Judaism—that the Samaritans are ethnically impure and religiously corrupt—indicates that Jewish traditions regard the intermarriage of Assyrian colonists and northern Israelites and the subsequent development of a syncretistic Yahwism as the origin of the heresy which caused them so much consternation. This claim is also understandable, even if less reasonable and, indeed, downright slanderous. The positions which maintain that the Samaritan sect came into being in the Persian period or in the early Greek period regard the erection of a temple on Gerizim, and the development of a priesthood and laity around it, as the most important factor in the emergence of the Samaritan sect. There can be no doubt that the construction of this temple was an incident of major importance in the emergence of the sect and that there would have been no Samaritan sect apart from it. The existence of a rival cultus on Gerizim was to become the great stumbling block in relations between Jews and Samaritans. Whether the final and complete estrangement of Jews and Samaritans was reached with the construction of the temple is another matter.

These observations enable us to understand and appreciate the complexity of the problem of Samaritan origins. Several guidelines may accordingly be set forth for the resolution of the question before us: First, it should be recognized that the estrangement between Jews and Samaritans and the emergence of Samaritanism as a distinct sect were the result of a long history of tensions between Jews and Samaritans, punctuated by a number of incidents which drove the two communities further and further apart. Rather than arbitrarily selecting one of the incidents in the history of relations between the

two communities as the specific occasion for the establishment of the sect, it would be better to inquire as to the time when the two communities reached a point of complete estrangement. Second, it should be clear that a sectarian status was attained by the community when it came to possess the essential characteristics by which it has been and is known as a sect, and when it came to regard itself and to be regarded as a separate and distinct movement from Judaism.¹¹ Third, because the community underwent an internal development over a period of time and acquired its characteristic features during this period of development, care should be taken not to date too early this final emergence of Samaritanism as a complete and distinct sect.

The Samaritans had maintained relations with Judaism before their emergence as a hostile and rival sect. These relations had not always been cordial, but the two communities were none the less coparticipants in a common religious heritage. Although one community was organized in the south of Palestine and the other in the north, they shared in common the Mosaic faith.¹² In fact, the religion

¹¹ See the remarks on "sect" in n. 10.

¹² The settlement of foreign colonists in the north by the Assyrians did not result in the total loss of Yahwism in Samaria. Instead, it brought into being a syncretistic Yahwism of which the Judaeans were reasonably suspicious (I Kings 17:24-34a; see, however, the editorial expansion in 17:34b-40). The religious activities of Hezekiah in the north were partially but not completely successful, at least according to the Chronicler (II Chronicles 30:1-12), who reflects a Judaeans bias in his account. The Chronicler does, however, indicate that contributions were received in the Temple treasury "from Manasseh and Ephraim and from all the remnant of Israel" by the time of Josiah (II Chronicles 34:9), and Jeremiah records a visit of 80 men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria who came on the day after the murder of Gedaliah "with their beards shaved and their clothes torn, and their bodies gashed, bringing cereal offerings and incense to present at the Temple of the Lord" (Jeremiah 41:4-5). Evidently, the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah had made some inroads into the north. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel understood God's eternal designs as embracing *all Israel*, the remnant and exile of Israel as well as Judah, which would indicate the persistence of Yahwism in the northern area. See Rowley, "Samaritan Schism in Legend and History," pp. 212-214. The Samaritans were probably predominantly Yahwistic when the exile of Judah returned to Palestine in the early Persian period. See Elias Bickermann, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), pp. 42-43.

of the Samaritans indicates a strong dependence upon and indebtedness to the Yahwism of post-exilic Judaism. This observation is contrary to a basic claim of the Samaritan sect, that their faith is a survival of the true old north Israelite religion. Although Samaritanism may preserve some legitimate traditions of the pre-exilic, northern Israelite religion, it is hardly a direct descendant of the ancient Hebraic (and non-Judaic) faith. The Hebrew faith it knows and expresses is that which was standardized in Judah at a comparatively late date.¹³ It differs from Judaism in that it regards as normative only the earliest stages of the Judaic tradition—specifically, the Mosaic legislation preserved in the Pentateuch and the cultic traditions which supposedly pertained while the central Israelite sanctuary was at Shechem. It rejects the sacred traditions of Judaism which allegedly post-date this time. Samaritanism may thus be regarded as a Jewish heresy; but it is not inappropriate to refer to it as a Jewish sect if one bears in mind that it developed from a movement whose cultural center was outside Judah and Jerusalem and that it represents an abridged or truncated type of Judaism.

Recent investigations of Jewish history have revealed that Judaism in the last few centuries of the pre-Christian era was more complex and less monolithic than had previously been thought. While the Pharisaic traditions later came to be normative for Judaism, there is

¹³ If Samaritanism were a direct descendant of the old north Israelite religion, it would undoubtedly differ from Judaism more considerably than it does. In fact, an interesting expression of northern Israelite Yahwism is to be found in the "Jewish" community at Elephantine. This religious community, with its bizarre religious features, was really an extension of Israelite rather than Judaeon religion. (Albert Vincent, *La religion des judéo-araméens d'Éléphantine* [Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Gunther, 1937], pp. 360, 566). Vincent suggested Bethel as the place of origin of the Elephantine colonists. A. von Hoonacker, however, suggested Samaria (in *Une communauté judéo-araméenne à Éléphantine en Égypte* [Schweich Lectures, 1914; London: British Academy, 1915], pp. 73–84). On the community's self-designation as Jewish, see W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942), pp. 171–172.

conclusive evidence from a variety of sources that there were a number of Jewish sects and parties at that time.¹⁴ Some of these, like the Sadducees, as well as the Pharisees themselves, were parties within the mainstream of Judaism which exercised considerable influence on the development of that faith. There were other movements, however, which were not within the mainstream and which were alienated, either through exclusion or willful separation, from the center of Jewish life and thought.¹⁵ There were geographical, ethnic, and cultural factors working against the full integration of Samaritans and Jews, but the Samaritan community could have remained within the family of Judaism were it not for their adoption of an institution which resulted in their estrangement from their sister community. That which led to their alienation was the establishment of a cultic center on Mt. Gerizim.

The construction of the Samaritan temple has long been considered a crucial incident in the emergence of Samaritanism, in part because of the account which Josephus gives of its construction and the circumstances by which he explains this event. Josephus dates the building of the temple in the time of Alexander the Great, but

¹⁴ According to one Jewish tradition, there were no less than 24 Jewish sectarian movements in the first century (Jerusalem Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 29 c). On various heterodox Jewish movements, see Joseph Thomas, *Le Mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1935); Simon, *Les Sectes juives*, esp. pp. 74-93; Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), pp. 48-74.

¹⁵ Such movements as the Pharisees and Sadducees were parties within Judaism, rather than distinct and separated "sects." See Krister Stendahl, "The Scrolls and the New Testament: An Introduction and a Perspective," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 7-10. Stendahl uses the Essenes and the early church as examples of "sects," with the Sadducees and Pharisees representing "parties" in Judaism. See n. 10. But see also Simon, *Les Sectes juives*, pp. 10-11, where it is maintained that the Pharisees were in their beginnings a sect, but later became a major religious party. This distinction is similar to the church-sect classification of religious movements in the United States, a distinction which may be traced ultimately to the work of Ernst Troeltsch and his analysis of Protestant church-types. See his *Social Teachings of the Christian Church*, trans. Olive Wyon (New York: Harper and Brothers, Torchbook, 1960), I, 331-343.

relates this activity to the work of Sanballat.¹⁶ A number of scholars, supposing this Sanballat to have been Nehemiah's contemporary, have argued for a date in the late Persian period for a Samaritan schism and temple.¹⁷ Others have accepted the date offered by Josephus, either suggesting that Sanballat has been incorrectly associated with the temple¹⁸ or arguing that the Sanballat of the Josephus narrative was a direct descendant of Nehemiah's contemporary who bore (through the practice of *papponymy*) the same name.¹⁹ The problems involved in Josephus's treatment of the erection of the Samaritan temple are such as to merit considerable attention; the time and circumstances of its construction are of importance in determining the character of the final rupture between Shechem and Jerusalem.

The presence of a temple on Mt. Gerizim would have been, to say the least, an embarrassment to the religious leaders of Jerusalem. It would also have been sufficient cause for some Jews to regard the adherents of the Samaritan cultus as schismatics. The sacred traditions preserved in the Former and Latter Prophets and in the Hagiographa pointed to the primacy of Jerusalem as Israel's approved cultic center, and Deuteronomy 12 was interpreted in Jerusalem as inferring that sacrifice could be offered legitimately only in that place within the land of Israel. Other Jewish temples existed outside

¹⁶ *Antiquities* XI, 302-347.

¹⁷ This case has been argued by such scholars as J. Wellhausen, B. Stade, H. E. Ryle, T. K. Cheyne, R. H. Kennett, and J. N. Rothstein, to mention only a few. For bibliographical data relating to this problem, see Rowley, "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," pp. 183-184.

¹⁸ So A. E. Cowley, E. Kautzsch, I. Spak, L. E. Browne, R. Kittel, E. Sellin, G. Ricciotti, *et al.* Rowley, "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," pp. 179-180.

¹⁹ The contention that there were two Sanballats was advocated as early as the mid-seventeenth century by I. Vossius. See Rowley, "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," p. 171. Most recently, it has been forcefully argued by G. Ernest Wright, "The Samaritans at Shechem," *HTR*, 55 (1962), 357-366. For the dramatic confirmation of this position, see F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," *BA*, 26 (1963), 110-121.

Palestine in Elephantine and Leontopolis,²⁰ and these were tolerated. But a temple in the north of Palestine was more of a direct threat to Jerusalem and its cultus. A Gerizim temple was not only an affront to the Jerusalem cultus; it was also a rival for the allegiance of Yahwists of the north. Equally vexing, however, would have been the realization that the temple on Gerizim had a good claim for legitimacy: Patriarchal legends were associated with the site. Joshua had gathered the tribes together at Shechem. Deuteronomy made specific references to Gerizim and Ebal, and not to Jerusalem. If the people who worshipped on Gerizim were heretics, they were extremely orthodox—even fundamentalistic—heretics.

Their newly established cultic center could have provided the Samaritans with a rationale for a distinct and separate religious community, as indeed it eventually was to do. The question is, when did such a sectarian mentality become firmly established among the Samaritans? Cultural contacts between two closely related peoples are not easily broken, and there is evidence to suggest that channels of communications between Samaritans and Jews remained open even after the erection of the Gerizim temple. This temple had, however, driven a wedge between the communities, which was in time to split them into two hostile groups.

Various literary data may be considered to determine when this final split occurred. Contemporary references or allusions to Samaritan-Jewish relations are sometimes helpful, but not as numerous as the historian might wish. The later Samaritan chronicles are, unfortunately, of little direct value, because they offer a sectarian apologetic which maintains an impossible antiquity of the sect. Jewish traditions are likewise characterized by an antisectarian polemic designed to

²⁰ In addition to these two temples, reference should also be made to the Transjordanian center of the Tobiads, at which there was probably a temple. See Abram Spiro, "Samaritans, Tobiads, and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo," *PAAJR*, 20 (1951), 314-315. See also Paul W. Lapp, "The Second and Third Campaigns at 'Arâq el-'Emîr," *BASOR*, 171 (1963), 8-38; and "The Qasr al-'Abd: A Proposed Reconstruction," *ibid.*, pp. 39-45.

discredit the Samaritan claims, although they reveal an interesting ambivalence toward the sect which is helpful in understanding the nature of relations between the two communities. Samaritan theological writings are helpful, inasmuch as they enable us to understand the particular stage in the development of Judaism at which Samaritan thought diverged to undergo its own distinctive development. Of particular value are Samaritan theological concepts and themes with parallels in non-Pharisaic Jewish traditions preserved among Essenes, Christians, and Qaraites. Caution must be exercised, however, in making historical judgments based upon such comparative study, for the theological writings of the Samaritans are comparatively late (post-fourth century A.D.).²¹

The most important literary evidence relating to the sectarian mentality of the Samaritans is their redaction of the Pentateuch. The promulgation of a distinctive edition of the sacred text, in which the community's claims of legitimacy were set forth, was of extreme importance in the life of the sect. In its distinctive readings, the Samaritans maintained that they and not the Jews were the true Israel. The Samaritan Pentateuch is the chief sectarian monument of the community, and it is hardly possible to conceive of Samaritanism

²¹ The only Samaritan writings which can be clearly dated to the pre-Christian era are the Samaritan Pentateuch and fragments of Samaritan-Hellenistic literature utilized by Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 80–40 B.C.) and preserved in Eusebius. The latter materials are of interest because they indicate the impact classical learning had made in Samaria during the Greek period. See J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke* (Breslau, 1875). Of particular interest is the poetry of Theodotus, whose craftsmanship combined Samaritan piety (respect for Mt. Gerizim, Shechem, the Patriarchs, and circumcision) and Greek verse (Eusebius, *Evangelicae Praeparationis* [Gifford's edition], book IX, chap. xxii. Reference should also be made to Eupolemus's history of Abraham, in which the Melchizedek incident of Genesis 14 is placed at Mt. Gerizim (*ibid.*, book IX, chap. xvii). See the recent article by Ben Zion Wacholder, "Pseudo-Eupolemus' Two Greek Fragments on the Life of Abraham," *HUCA*, 34 (1963), 83–113. Wacholder's opinion that the Pseudo-Eupolemus fragments reflect the Hellenizing activity in Palestine ca. 200 B.C. is probably correct. On Theodotus, see most recently, Robert J. Bull, "A Note on Theodotus' Description of Shechem," *HTR*, 60 (1967), 221–227.

as a sect apart from it. The determination of the time of this redactional activity should be, then, of crucial importance in the determination of the origin of the sect or, more accurately, in the determination of the time when the break between Jews and Samaritans was finally and irrevocably completed.

Until recently, it had been assumed that the construction of a temple on Gerizim and the promulgation of the Samaritan Pentateuch occurred at approximately the same time. It is now evident that these two events were not contemporaneous: they were separated by over two hundred years! The temple was erected in the early Greek period (so Josephus) and the Samaritan Pentateuch was produced in the late Hasmonaean period.²² Rather than being contemporaneous with the construction of the temple, the promulgation of the Samaritan Pentateuch was roughly contemporaneous with the destruction of this temple.²³

²² I maintain that the distinctive sectarian readings of the Samaritan text were added at the time of this recensional activity, and not earlier (that is, at the time of the building of the temple). Indeed, it was the sectarian claim represented in these readings which necessitated the recension and promulgation of the text, which must now be dated in the Hasmonaean period.

²³ No substantial argument can be made for an earlier date of this recensional activity on the basis of canon: that is, by maintaining that the limits of the Samaritan canon reflect the limits of the Jewish canon at the time of the promulgation of the Samaritan text by the sect. The Samaritans had their own reasons for limiting their canon to the Pentateuch. As has been noted, the Pentateuch bears witness to the sanctity of Mt. Gerizim and Shechem (particularly in the Patriarchal legends and in Deuteronomy); nowhere in it is Jerusalem mentioned as a Hebrew sanctuary or sacred site (Salem of Genesis 14 is identified by the Samaritans with a village near Gerizim; Mt. Moriah is located by the Samaritans on Gerizim). The Deuteronomic history of the Former Prophets, which had canonical status in the Jewish community, was not acceptable as Scripture among the Samaritans. One part of this collection did, however, enjoy some popularity in the Samaritan community—namely, the Book of Joshua. The state of the text of this work in Samaritan manuscripts renders it difficult to determine its exact status in the sect, although it may be designated quasi-apocryphal. At any rate, Samaritan traditions concerning Joshua and the conquest indicate that some form of the Book of Joshua, as well as extracanonical Joshua materials, was known and used by the sect. The Book of Judges might also have been considered of value for Samaritan use, because it deals with the pre-Shiloh period of Israelite history, but it was not accepted as Scripture by the sect. None of the works

The evidence relating to the redaction of the Samaritan Pentateuch, especially the newer evidence of the texts of Qumrân, is considered in Chapter One of this study. The significance of this research for the historical investigation of Samaritan origins is considered in the second chapter. On the basis of these studies, I maintain that the final estrangement between Samaritans and Jews was attained in the late Hasmonaean period and that the sect had achieved at that time the essential characteristics by which it has been known as a distinct sect from that time to this day.

of the Hagiographa would have been acceptable for Samaritan usage, for reasons which are obvious: the use of the Psalter in the Jerusalem cultus and, also, its associations with David; the associations of Proverbs, Canticles, and Qohelet with Solomon; the "Jewishness" of the Megillot; etc. The one exception here could have been Job, with its neutral setting. It was, however, like Judges, not taken into the Samaritan canon.

The conservative attitude of the Samaritans in the use of the Pentateuch exclusively as Scripture is not without parallel in the Jewish community itself: witness the practice of the Sadducees in accepting only the Pentateuch as Scripture! Samaritanism bears, in fact, a number of other similarities to this Jewish movement: the denial of the resurrection (at least in primitive Samaritanism; according to Jewish traditions), common non-Pharisaic *halakah*, agreements in some cases in calendar, priestly oriented religion, etc.

CHAPTER ONE

The Samaritan Pentateuch: The Date of Its Sectarian Recension

The Samaritan claim for the primacy of Mt. Gerizim was set forth in a distinctively sectarian redaction of the Pentateuch. The date of the promulgation of this recension is of crucial importance in determining the time when Samaritanism emerged from Judaism as a distinct sect. Former evaluations of the Samaritan Pentateuch tended to date this recensional activity in the late Persian or early Greek period. This was due, in part, to the assumption that the recension was contemporaneous with the construction of the Gerizim temple and a Samaritan schism which occurred in connection with this event. Until recently, however, scholars knew too little from primary material about the state of the biblical text in the pre-Christian centuries to control adequately the problem of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The discovery of biblical texts of the Hasmonaean and Roman periods at Qumrân has now thrown considerable light upon this recension (in particular, upon its script, its orthography, and its textual tradition) and has enabled us to determine more precisely the time of its origin. It is now possible to make the following observations on the basis of these newer materials:

1. The script of the Samaritan Pentateuch is a sectarian script which developed from the palaeo-Hebrew forms of the Hasmonaean

period. This script is not a descendant of the palaeo-Hebrew of the earlier Persian or Greek periods or of the later Roman period.

2. The orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch is the standard full orthography of the Hasmonaean period, which contrasts with the restricted orthography seen in the Pentateuchal text of the earlier Greek and the later Rabbinic periods.

3. The textual tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch is one of three textual traditions which are now known to have been in use in Palestine during the Hasmonaean period. Moreover, it is most likely that this textual tradition completed its development during this period, rather than at an earlier time.

These observations can be substantiated by a palaeographic, orthographic, and text-critical investigation of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the light of the materials made available from the manuscripts and fragments of Qumrân.

Although these three positions represent a departure from the older evaluations of the Samaritan Pentateuch, at least two of them had been suggested earlier on the basis of more limited evidence. W. F. Albright suggested that the palaeography of the Jewish coins of the Hasmonaean period and the palaeography of the early Samaritan inscriptions indicate that a "transcription" (as he called it) of the Samaritan Pentateuch took place in the late Hasmonaean period.¹ It now appears that the Samaritan text was not transcribed from the Jewish script into the Samaritan script; nevertheless, Albright was essentially correct in maintaining that the parentage of the sectarian script was the palaeo-Hebrew of the Hasmonaean age. He also suggested that this observation bore on the problem of the final break between the Samaritans and the Jews. Albright further suggested, on the evidence of the Nash papyrus, that the so-called *plene* orthography, with the full use of the internal *matres lectionis*—the

¹ W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*, 2nd ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1957), pp. 345–346. (The first edition of this work was published in 1940 by The Johns Hopkins University Press.)

orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch—reached its fullest stage of development in the Hasmonaean period.² In this, he was following a suggestion advanced a number of years earlier by Julius Wellhausen.³ Albright was followed by F. M. Cross, Jr. and D. N. Freedman in their study of Hebrew orthography.⁴

Albright's suggestions have been confirmed with the discovery of biblical texts of the Hasmonaean period from Qumrân. F. M. Cross, Jr., in his *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, was the first person to apply this evidence to an evaluation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Cross noted that the Samaritan textual tradition is a relatively late branch of the textual traditions of the Torah, going back at the earliest to the Hasmonaean period. This view is substantiated, Cross said, on both palaeographic and orthographic grounds: the Samaritan script is derived from the palaeo-Hebrew of the Hasmonaean era; the orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch is the characteristic orthography of the same period.⁵

In the following palaeographic, orthographic, and text-critical study, I have attempted to demonstrate the cogency of Cross's observations.

I. The Samaritan Script

The Samaritan Pentateuch is written in a sectarian script which exhibits considerable variance from the standard forms of palaeo-

² W. F. Albright, "A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaeon Age: The Nash Papyrus," *JBL*, 56 (1937), 145-176.

³ As noted by F. M. Cross, Jr. and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence* (American Oriental Series, vol. 36, New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1952), p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumrân and Modern Biblical Studies*, rev. ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 172. See also, Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *HTR*, 57 (1964), 285.

Hebrew writing of the pre-exilic period. Certain letters (notably, the *zayn*, *samek*, and *šade*) are so distinctive that they bear little resemblance to the older forms. Other letters (especially the *ʾalef*, *he*, *waw*, *het*, and *taw*) are distinctive, yet do bear a relationship to the earlier forms. The Samaritan script is, none the less, a descendant of the palaeo-Hebrew; it is not an archaizing sectarian creation in which an attempt has been made to bring into being a script comparable to the writing of ancient Israel. The development of the palaeo-Hebrew script can now be traced from its earliest usage through the second century A.D., and the relationship of the Samaritan writing to this script can be determined.

Former evaluations of the Samaritan script have tended to consider it a descendant of the palaeo-Hebrew of the Persian period; its distinguishing features were thought to have arisen from its own peculiar development from that time to the present. Because Rabbinic and patristic traditions relate the introduction of the Jewish script to Ezra,⁶ it seemed reasonable to assume that the Samaritan Pentateuch dates from Ezra's time, its script being the survival of the script which had been in use, but which shortly thereafter passed out of vogue among the Jews.

It is now known, however, that the palaeo-Hebrew did not cease to be used in the time of Ezra. The script existed concurrently with the Jewish script down into the Hasmonaeen and Roman periods, judging from its use as a bookhand at Qumrân and its use on the Hasmonaeen coins and the coins of the two revolts. Its usage in the late Persian and early Greek periods appears to have been widespread, as is evidenced by coins, stamps, and seals of the fourth and

⁶ See *Sanhedrin* 21b, where it is stated that the Torah was given to Israel in the time of Ezra in the "Assyrian" (*šwryt*) script (that is, the Aramaic script), and that the old Hebrew characters were left for the Samaritans. For further references in the Rabbinic texts and in patristic sources, see F. P. Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, trans. John MacPherson (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1892), p. 202. On the problem of the validity of this tradition, see below, n. 150.

third centuries.⁷ Moreover, the precise time when the Jewish script came to be used to transcribe biblical texts is not known. The oldest biblical manuscripts extant in this script are from the third century B.C. The immediate ancestor of the formal Jewish script of the oldest manuscripts of Qumrân is clearly the standard Aramaic hand of the late Persian empire.⁸ It is not surprising that this script came to be used for transcribing the Scriptures in Palestine, as it was in use throughout the Persian empire. Because so much concerning the reorganization of the Jewish community in the Persian era is attributed to Ezra, the introduction of the script was also credited to him. This is probably nothing more than an indication that the script came to be used for this purpose in Ezra's time or not long afterward.

The development of palaeo-Hebrew can be traced from the sixth century B.C. to the second century A.D. One begins with the Lachish ostraca and Gibeon jar handles and with the seals and stamps of the Persian and Greek periods, proceeds through the forms seen in the Hasmonaean coins and palaeo-Hebrew texts of the Hasmonaean period from Qumrân, and concludes with forms known from the Roman period in coins of the first and second revolts. From these forms it is evident that the palaeo-Hebrew script remained fairly static from the fifth to the second century B.C., but began to develop with greater rapidity through the Hasmonaean and Roman periods.⁹

⁷ The dating of stamps and seals of the post-exilic period has been a particularly vexing problem. See Giovanni Garbini, "The Dating of Post-exilic Stamps," in Y. Aḥaroni, *Excavations at Ramat-Raḥel: Seasons 1959 and 1960* (Rome: Università Degli Studi, Centro di Studi Semitici, 1962), pp. 61-68; Paul Lapp, "Late Royal Seals from Judah," *BASOR*, 158 (1960), 11-22.

⁸ F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in G. E. Wright, ed., *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 140.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 189. See also Richard Hanson, "Palaeo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonaean Age," *BASOR*, 175 (1964), 26-42. (See n. 48.)

The earliest examples of Samaritan writing, known from inscriptions of the Roman period, indicate that the parentage of this particular script was the palaeo-Hebrew of the Hasmonaeon era. If the recension of the Samaritan Pentateuch had taken place during the Persian period, Samaritan palaeography would reflect a development from the script of that time. The earliest forms of the Samaritan letters have their closest affinities, however, with the forms of the palaeo-Hebrew of Hasmonaeon times. This would indicate that the Samaritan script diverged from the palaeo-Hebrew at precisely this time. If it had begun its independent development from the earlier script, it would exhibit greater divergence from the forms known from non-Samaritan palaeo-Hebrew of the later periods. The coincidence would be remarkable if the script had developed along identical lines among the Samaritans and the Jews from the Persian period down into Hasmonaeon times—indeed, this would demand a set of circumstances unparalleled in typological science.

That the Samaritan script began its independent development from the palaeo-Hebrew of the Hasmonaeon period is further indicated by the lack of similarity of the Samaritan forms with a number of the Jewish palaeo-Hebrew forms of the Roman period. These disparities are the result of the independent development of the palaeo-Hebrew among Jews and Samaritans during this time. It thus becomes clear that the palaeo-Hebrew branched off into two main divisions—Jewish palaeo-Hebrew and Samaritan palaeo-Hebrew—during the Hasmonaeon era. The evolution of the Jewish palaeo-Hebrew can be traced through the coins of the two revolts; the development of the Samaritan palaeo-Hebrew can be traced through the Samaritan inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine periods.

An investigation of the earliest forms of the Samaritan letters reveals a script in state of flux, but one in which the basic or primary forms of the letters are apparent. Descriptive analysis of the Samaritan script is a necessary prerequisite for the comparison of the Samaritan and Jewish palaeo-Hebrew forms.

1. *The Earliest Forms of the Samaritan Letters: The Evidence*

The earliest Samaritan inscription is the so-called first Emmaus inscription.¹⁰ This inscription is one of three discovered at Emmaus, and is treated by Vincent and Abel in their general archaeological survey of the Emmaus basilica.¹¹ The inscription was carved on one side of an Ionic capital. It is a linear inscription in two lines which reads *brwk šmw l'wlm* ("blessed be his name forever"). On the other side of the capital is a circular Greek inscription which reads *heīs theós* ("One God"). Clermont-Ganneau was the first to note the similarity of this script to the palaeo-Hebrew writing on the Jewish coins.¹² He noted especially a similarity to the Simon coins, which in his time were dated to the Maccabaeen period.¹³ Clermont-Ganneau was reluctant to designate this inscription Samaritan, undoubtedly because of the similarity of the forms of the letters to the Jewish palaeo-Hebrew of the coins, rather than to the Samaritan letters known from the later manuscripts.¹⁴ The discovery of other early Samaritan inscriptions has shown that the first Emmaus inscription is definitely Samaritan, in spite of its strong agreement with the Jewish palaeo-Hebrew. Since Vincent and Abel have argued for the

* ¹⁰ Solomon Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts, Part Two* (London: Palaeographia, 1954-1957), no. 64; L. H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Emmaüs: Sa Basilique et son histoire* (Paris, 1932), pp. 235-237, 430, plate xxv; Mark Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften* (Weimar, 1898), I, 117, 440; II, plate xxi. For earlier studies, see James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect: Their History, Theology and Literature* (Philadelphia: J. C. Winston, 1907), p. 275; C. Clermont-Ganneau, "Expedition to Amwäs (Emmaus-Nicopolis)," *PEFQS* (1882), 22-37.

¹¹ Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, pp. 235-237, 430, plate xxv.

¹² Clermont-Ganneau, "Expedition to Amwäs," p. 28.

¹³ These coins are now universally dated to the period of the first revolt. See O. R. Sellers and W. F. Albright, "The First Campaign of Excavation at Beth Zur," *BASOR*, 43 (1931), 13; Hugo Willrich, "Zum Münzwesen der Makkabaer," *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 78-79; Albright, *Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 345; Leo Kadman, "ktb hmtb-wt h'bryt," in *ereš yiśrā'el* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1960), VI, 94-103 (an English summary, "The Hebrew Coin Script," appears on pp. 30-31).

¹⁴ See too Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 275.

script being Samaritan there have been no dissenting voices. The bilingual character of the inscription presents no problem to its being considered Samaritan. In 1921 a bilingual Samaritan amulet was discovered. The script on the obverse was clearly Samaritan, and the reverse read *heïs theòs boèthi markianén*.¹⁵ Since that time, another bilingual Samaritan inscription has appeared with the formula *heïs theòs*.¹⁶ The first Emmaus inscription has been dated to the first century A.D. by Albright, on the basis of agreement with the so-called "Year Four" coins.¹⁷ It has also been dated as early as the first century B.C.¹⁸ Unfortunately, there is no evidence external to the script itself by which the inscription can be precisely dated. Dating by palaeography, however, seems fairly safe; the script is certainly as old as the first century A.D. and may be as old as the first century B.C.

The second and third Emmaus inscriptions are probably not as old as the first, but their forms indicate a stage of development not far removed from that of the first inscription. No photograph of the second inscription appears to be available, although Lagrange has given a reproduction of some of the characters.¹⁹ The third Emmaus inscription is of far greater importance. De Vogüé has published a photograph of a squeeze, in which a number of the characters may easily be discerned.²⁰ While De Vogüé dated the inscription to the first period of the Middle Ages, it is certainly much older than this.

One of the most important of the early Samaritan inscriptions is that discovered by Ben-Zvi at Beit el-Mā. An account of the discovery

¹⁵ Samuel Raffaelli, "A Recently Discovered Samaritan Charm," *JPOS*, 1 (1921), 143-144.

¹⁶ Anita Hamburger, "A Greco-Samaritan Amulet from Caesarea," *IEJ*, 9 (1959), 43-45, plates 4 A, B.

¹⁷ See Albright's remarks on Samaritan palaeography, in the note appended to W. R. Taylor's article: "A New Samaritan Inscription," *BASOR*, 81 (1941), 1-6.

¹⁸ See Taylor, "New Samaritan Inscription," pp. 1-6.

¹⁹ M. J. Lagrange, "Inscription samaritaine d' Amwās," *RB*, 2 (1893), 114-116. See also Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, p. 430; Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 276, plate 5.

²⁰ Melchior de Vogüé, "Nouvelle inscription d' Amwās," *RB*, 5 (1896), 433-434. See also Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 276, plate 6.

was given by Ben-Zvi in the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* in 1935,²¹ and the inscription was published in the same year by Ben-Zvi in his *sēpher haš-šōmrônîm*.²² In the following year, two articles on this inscription appeared in the same journal.²³ One, by E. L. Sukenik, was concerned with the date of the inscription.²⁴ In 1941, an excellent study of this inscription was published in America by W. R. Taylor.²⁵ Taylor was unaware of the previous work and thought that the inscription had first come to light in his study. Ben-Zvi published a subsequent article in the same journal.²⁶ Taylor had dated the inscription in the third century A.D., on the basis of the architectural style of the lintel on which the text had been inscribed. The lintel was dated by R. W. Hamilton, a specialist in Roman architectural ornament, in the first half of the third century.²⁷ Sukenik had already established that the inscription was contemporaneous with the lintel. Nevertheless, Ben-Zvi was reluctant to date the inscription precisely, although he did consider it to be pre-Justinian (that is, pre-sixth century). In a note appended to Ben Zvi's article, Albright (the editor) apologized for the oversight of Ben-Zvi's work, but contended that Taylor's dating of the inscription still stood, because the date could be established by architectural evidence quite apart from the palaeographical investigation of the script.

The dating of this Decalogue inscription is crucial. If the inscription is from the third century, the stone not only gives an early inscription but also presents evidence by which other scripts can be dated. The fact that this is a Decalogue inscription is also important.

²¹ Yišhaq Ben-Zvi gives an account of the early publications of this inscription in Israel in his article "The Beit El-Mā Inscription," *BASOR* 84 (1941), 2-4. I regret that I have been unable to secure the original publications in the *Bulletin of the Jewish Exploration Society*.

²² *spr hšmrwnym*, plate 9, opposite p. 240. The photograph is of the right half of the lintel inscription.

²³ According to Ben-Zvi, "The Beit El-Mā Inscription," pp. 2-4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ W. R. Taylor, "A New Samaritan Inscription," *BASOR*, 81 (1941), 1-6.

²⁶ See n. 21.

²⁷ See Taylor, "A New Samaritan Inscription," pp. 1-6.

As such, it was probably used for the lintel of a Samaritan synagogue. Because it is known that the Samaritan community experienced a number of periods of revival followed by disruption, Samaritan history provides certain periods when the synagogues of the sectarians would have flourished. The Samaritan community prospered at the time of Marqah in the fourth century and possibly also experienced some kind of renaissance earlier in the third century.²⁸ In the fifth century, however, Samaritan life was disrupted under Christian persecution, when the second Samaritan temple was destroyed by Zeno (474–491). In the sixth century, the Samaritans were subjected to further persecutions under Justinian. Thus the sixth century provides a *terminus ad quem* for the dating of other Samaritan inscriptions similar to the Beit el-Mā Decalogue.²⁹

The other Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions, which probably belong to the pre-Justinian period, are the Shechem Decalogue,³⁰ the Leeds fragment,³¹ and the Sychar Decalogue.³² In addition to

²⁸ Taylor has pointed out that there is some confusion in the Samaritan chronicles as to the exact date of Baba Raba, one of the personalities with whom the Samaritan renaissance of the fourth century is associated. According to one tradition he lived in the third century. See Taylor, "New Samaritan Inscription," p. 4.

²⁹ John Bowman and S. Talmon have made some attempts toward dating the early Samaritan inscriptions on text-critical grounds. See "Samaritan Decalogue Inscriptions," *BJRL*, 33 (1951), 211–236.

³⁰ An excellent photograph is given in Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 68. For studies on the inscription, see Bowman and Talmon, "Samaritan Decalogue Inscriptions," pp. 217–218; Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 273; G. Rosen, "Über samaritanische Inschriften," *ZDMG*, 15 (1860), 622–631, with a supplementary note by E. Rödiger; Otto Blau, "Der Dekalog in einer samaritanischen Inschrift aus dem Tempel des Gerizim," *ZDMG*, 13 (1859), 275–281, with plate and supplementary note by E. Rödiger. As the title of Blau's article suggests, at one time the inscription was thought to have been from the temple destroyed by John Hyrcanus. Rosen was the first to suggest that the inscription was from a time anterior to the Justinian persecutions.

³¹ For a photograph, see Bowman and Talmon, "Samaritan Decalogue Inscriptions"; Montgomery, *Samaritans*, plate 3. The inscription was first published by William Wright, "Note on a Samaritan Tablet in the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society Library," *PSBA*, 6 (1883), 25.

³² For a photograph, see Bowman and Talmon, "Samaritan Decalogue Inscriptions." In this article, the Sychar inscription is said to have been previously

these Decalogue inscriptions, there is an early inscription from Gaza consisting of Deuteronomy 4:29–31.³³ The script is similar to that of these Decalogue inscriptions, and it is probably to be dated to the pre-Justinian period.

Eight small Samaritan epigraphs of the pre-Justinian period have also been found in the excavations at Mt. Nebo (Siyâgha).³⁴ They were found over a period of six years in a variety of locales. S. J. Saller suggests, from a consideration of the history of the Samaritan Community during the Byzantine period, that the Samaritan inscriptions were probably erected in the sixth century.³⁵ I would suggest, however, that such a date would be more appropriate for the destruction of the Samaritan tablets. In many respects, the forms of the letters are similar to forms in the el-Mâ inscription.³⁶

unknown. See, however, Albrecht Alt, "Zu den samaritanischen Dekaloginschriften," *VT*, 2 (1925), 273–276; Hans H. Spoer, "Notes on Some New Samaritan Inscriptions," *PSBA*, 30 (1908), 284.

³³ This was published by W. R. Taylor, "Recent Epigraphic Discoveries in Palestine," *JPOS*, 10 (1930), 18–19, plate 1. It is not to be confused with a number of later inscriptions from Gaza, also published by Taylor: "Samaritan Inscription from Gaza," *JPOS*, 16 (1936), 131–137, plates 6–7. Taylor's early Gaza inscription is probably that which Charles Clermont-Ganneau reported having seen in Gaza: *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873–1874* (London, 1896), II, 430. See Montgomery, *Samaritans*, pp. 276–277. This is probably also the stone reported on by W. I. Pritchett, "Note on the Newly Discovered Samaritan Stone," *PEFQS* (1873), 118.

³⁴ Sylvester J. Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo* (Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, no. 1; Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1941), Part I: *The Text*, pp. 173–174, 271–275; Part II: *The Plates*, plate 122.

See also the article by B. Bagatti, "Phasga (ou Mont Nebo)," in Henri Cazelles and André Feuillet, eds., *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1965), VI, fascicle 40, 1115–1141.

³⁵ Saller, *Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo*, p. 174.

³⁶ I am inclined to date the Mt. Nebo scripts in the third century, with the el-Mâ inscription. J. T. Milik, however, would date the script even earlier—in the second century A.D. He regards it as representing a palaeographic stage between the Emmaus and the el-Mâ scripts. (Milik's palaeographic study of the Samaritan scripts appears in Bagatti's article on Mt. Nebo: "Phasga (ou Mont Nebo)," 1129–1132.) Milik further maintains that the Emmaus and Mt. Nebo scripts represent a nonmonumental type script, such as would have been used in manuscript writing, which was used in these cases on stone. He regards the

In addition to these inscriptions, a mosaic with Samaritan characters has been discovered at Salbit, west of Jerusalem.³⁷ While the script of a mosaic may present problems not present in inscription-writing, the letters may be taken as fairly standard Samaritan forms. The mosaic has been dated to the fourth century A.D.³⁸ A number of Samaritan lamps and amulets should also be dated in the pre-Justinian period. Among these are the amulet published by Raffaeli,³⁹ the amulet published by Hamburger,⁴⁰ and the lamp published by Ben-Zvi.⁴¹

Certain distinct stages are evident in the development of the Samaritan script from the first centuries B.C. and A.D. to the sixth century A.D. The first Emmaus inscription represents a distinct

el-Mā script as a monumental type script invented by the Samaritans ca. A.D. 200. He sees also a mixture of these two types in the second and third Emmaus, the early Gaza, and Sychar inscriptions, and regards the Leeds fragment and the Shechem Decalogue as inscriptions from the Middle Ages!

Inasmuch as there are no Samaritan manuscripts contemporaneous with the early Samaritan inscriptions, it is futile to postulate one type of writing for manuscripts (preserved on some stones), another type invented for monumental writing (preserved on other stones), and inscription writing which represents a mixing of these two types (preserved on yet other stones). Contemporary manuscript writing *may* have influenced the monumental script at points, but with no contemporary Samaritan manuscripts to compare with the inscriptions there is no evidence upon which such conjecture can be based.

It is my contention that we are dealing with a script in a process of development. The development was most rapid between the Emmaus and the el-Mā scripts. The Mt. Nebo script is closer to the el-Mā than to the Emmaus. There is no evidence that the el-Mā script was a script-type invented for monumental writing.

³⁷ For an excellent photograph, see Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 65.

³⁸ Sukenik dates the mosaic in the fourth century: E. L. Sukenik, "The Samaritan Synagogue at Salbit," in *Bulletin of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Fund for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues*, no. 1 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Museum of Jewish Antiquities, 1949), pp. 25-30, plates xiv-xvi. The mosaic floor is dated to the Roman-Byzantine period; the building was destroyed in the late fifth or early sixth century.

³⁹ See n. 15.

⁴⁰ See n. 16.

⁴¹ Yishaq Ben-Zvi, "A Lamp with a Samaritan Inscription," *IEJ*, 11 (1961), 139-142.

stage of development, the earliest available to us. The third Emmaus inscription represents another stage of development, with similarities in some forms to the first Emmaus, and in other forms to the el-Mā inscription. The Beit el-Mā, in general, agrees with the early Gaza inscription, the Salbit mosaic, the Mt. Nebo inscriptions, and the Sychar Decalogue. The Shechem Decalogue and the Leeds fragment represent yet another stage of development, although the distinctions are not so great as those which set apart the other stages. The general impression one receives from a comparative study of these early inscriptions is of a script in state of flux, with certain letters developing more rapidly than others and other letters tending to regress to earlier forms. The evolution of this script was most rapid between the first Emmaus and the el-Mā inscriptions. Thereafter, it tended to develop more slowly. Apparently there was a stabilization of the script in the fourth century, after which it developed more slowly.

2. *The Earliest Forms of the Samaritan Letters: A Comparative Analysis*

In the following analysis, the forms of the letters in the early Samaritan inscriptions are treated comparatively. The relationships of the developing forms are described, and the developing tendencies in the evolution of the script are noted wherever possible. References to the later Samaritan inscriptions and manuscripts are made only when it seems advisable to note the further evolution of a trend which was begun, but not fully developed, in the early inscriptions.⁴² The

⁴² Reference will be made to the following Samaritan manuscripts and late inscriptions: the Manchester fragment, ninth century, published by Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 70; the Eleazar inscription, eleventh century, published in Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 69; the ³*Abiša* scroll, eleventh century (in part), published in Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 71, and Fr. Pérez Castro, *Séfer Abiša* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1959), plates 1–24; two twelfth-century manuscripts, published in Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, nos. 72–73; and sixteenth-century manuscript given in Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 74.

reader is referred to the comparative charts, which should be consulted in connection with this study. From this comparative analysis, the basic and earliest forms of the Samaritan letters will become evident. Given the available evidence, one cannot hope to come closer to a knowledge of the "archetypal" Samaritan script for the purposes of a palaeographical study of the relation of the Samaritan script to the palaeo-Hebrew of the Hasmonaeon period.

The Samaritan *ʾalef* does not appear in the first and third Emmaus inscriptions, but the basic form of the letter is apparent in the el-Mā, Sychar, Mt. Nebo, and early Gaza inscriptions and in the Shechem Decalogue and the Leeds fragment.⁴³ The letter was originally made in three strokes: a major downward stroke, from the upper left to the lower right, on an angle of forty-five degrees with the horizon; a second stroke, which began at a point higher than the first stroke on the right and crossed that stroke in its descent to the lower left at a point not far from the top of the first stroke; and a third stroke, parallel to the right half of the second stroke and below it. Variations (like a four-stroke letter) and aberrations of this basic form appear. In el-Mā, the left half of the second line sometimes drops sharply, and the two parallel strokes on the right have notches. Early Gaza has a number of crudely formed *ʾalefs*.

Certain tendencies in the development of the Samaritan *ʾalef* can be seen in these inscriptions. In Mt. Nebo and Shechem Decalogue, the second stroke noted above moves slightly upward as it crosses the major left-to-right downward stroke. It emerges on the left at a point slightly higher than its right half. In Sychar, Shechem Decalogue, Mt. Nebo, and Early Gaza, the left half of this stroke is sometimes at the top of the left-to-right downward stroke. This feature is present in Ben-Zvi's lamp impression,⁴⁴ and it is also

⁴³ Hereafter, the following designations will be used for these early Samaritan epigraphs: First Emmaus; Third Emmaus; el-Mā; Salbit; Sychar; Early Gaza; Mt. Nebo; Shechem Decalogue; Leeds.

⁴⁴ The following designations will be used for the early amulets and lamp mentioned in nn. 15, 16, and 41: Raffaelli Amulet; Hamburger Amulet; Ben-Zvi Lamp.

characteristic of the *ʾalef* in the later Samaritan manuscripts. The evolution of the Samaritan *ʾalef* is seen also in the tendency for the lower right-hand stroke to move toward the bottom of the left-to-right downward stroke. This phenomenon is evident as early as el-Mā and is found in Mt. Nebo, Sychar, and Early Gaza, but it is not found in Shechem Decalogue or Leeds. This is also a characteristic of the *ʾalef* of the Samaritan manuscripts.

The *bet* exhibits a significant development throughout these inscriptions. In First Emmaus, the head of the letter is triangular, the vertical stroke on the right bends slightly, forming more of an arc than a straight line, and the lower horizontal stroke extends leftward to a point equal to the apex of the triangular head. As the letter developed, it lost its triangular head for a rounded and then a trapezoidal head. In el-Mā, Early Gaza, Sychar, and Mt. Nebo, the general triangular shape of the head is still evident, but the angles have been rounded. As early as el-Mā, the tendency toward a quadrilateral head can be seen. It appears in some forms of the *bet* in Early Gaza and is the standard form of the letter in Shechem Decalogue and Leeds. The shape of the head of the *bet* in the latter inscriptions is trapezoidal. In the early Samaritan manuscripts,⁴⁵ the *bet* with the rounded head sometimes appears (as in Manchester and *ʾAbišaʿ*) and the archaistic triangular head sometimes occurs (as in Manchester). In general, the trapezoidal head is standard in the later Samaritan inscriptions and manuscripts. The slant of the vertical stroke on the right of the letter is sometimes altered with the changing shape of the head. Where the older triangular and rounded heads appear, the stroke tends to bend slightly. Where the head is trapezoidal, the stroke tends to the right in its descent. Throughout these inscriptions, the lower horizontal stroke shows a tendency to lengthen. This is an irregular development.

In the early Samaritan materials, the *gimel* occurs clearly in el-Mā

⁴⁵ The following designations will be used for the manuscripts and late inscriptions mentioned in n. 42: Manchester; Eleazar; *ʾAbišaʿ*; Birnbaum's 72, 73, 74.

and Sychar. The form is fairly standard, with a downward stroke on the extreme left of the horizontal stroke. The vertical stroke sometimes slants to the left in its descent, although in Sychar the stroke is more vertical. In Sychar and Shechem the horizontal stroke has a breakthrough on the right corner. This breakthrough is characteristic of the later Samaritan *gimel*. The downward stroke on the horizontal line and an inward hook on the vertical stroke are developed in the later manuscripts (for example, ³*Abiša*^ε, and Birnbaum's, 72, 73, 74). In some cases, the downward stroke on the vertical line is represented by an arched horizontal stroke (for example, see Manchester).

The *dalet* is not found in First or Third Emmaus, but it is well represented in the other early inscriptions. The head is usually trapezoidal in shape, but sometimes rounded, and there is a pronounced breakthrough on the upper right corner. The length of the descending, left-to-right stroke varies somewhat from inscription to inscription, but the prevailing tendency is for the stroke to become longer as it slants down and out. In Salbit, the upper right breakthrough and the lower downward stroke have notches which are moved upward and outward respectively. These may have been added at the aesthetic whim of the artist, but they do anticipate a tendency found in later manuscripts. In the later forms, however, the embellishment of the ends of the strokes are downward and inward, rather than upward and outward.

The Samaritan *he* of the early inscriptions may be described as a letter with a major vertical stroke slanting downward to the right, with three horizontal strokes on the left, slanting downward, and with a horizontal stroke on the right opposite the middle horizontal stroke on the left. This would be the least complicated way to describe the form; it says very little, however, about the way in which the letter was made. The upper horizontal stroke on the left moved downward to form the vertical stroke; it veered sharply to the right to make the horizontal stroke on the right before moving to

the left to make the second horizontal bar. At least this seems to be the case with the Third Emmaus inscription and some of the latter manuscripts. On many of the early inscriptions, however, the middle horizontal stroke on the left and the stroke on the right appear to be one continuous horizontal stroke crossing the vertical bar; the vertical shaft is made with a continuous downward flourish from the upper horizontal stroke, of which it is a continuation. This may have been a simplification for purposes of inscription writing, with the later manuscripts indicating the earlier cursive form of which the inscription form was an approximation. In its development, the letter became more oblique, and the lower horizontal stroke sometimes moved lower on the vertical bar.

The development of the *waw* was quite rapid in the early inscriptions. In First Emmaus there are three slightly different forms of the letter. In general, the form can be described as having two parallel upper strokes, more or less horizontal, and a lower vertical stroke or tail. The two upper strokes are connected with a downward stroke, which sometimes moves from the upper left to the lower right (so First Emmaus),⁴⁶ or from the center of the upper line to a point somewhat right of center on the lower line (so Third Emmaus), or from the right of the upper line to the center of the lower line (so First Emmaus). The development of this connecting line seems to have been in a shift from the left of the upper line to the center, and then to the right. The earliest forms in First Emmaus have on the tail a hook that moves to the left. This becomes less pronounced in the development of the form, sometimes disappearing altogether; its vestige can be seen in the manuscripts as a slight inward hook. The letter also becomes more oblique in its evolution. While the upper strokes are horizontal in First Emmaus, they are more vertical than horizontal in Shechem Decalogue and Leeds. This trend is reversed in the later inscriptions and manuscripts.

The *zayn* does not occur frequently in the early inscriptions, but

⁴⁶ The photograph of Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, has been "touched."

examples are found in el-Mā, Early Gaza, Sychar, and Leeds. Early Gaza has a form similar to the elaborate *zayn* of the later inscriptions and manuscripts, whereas el-Mā exhibits a more archaic and cursive type. In its development, the letter became more oblique, with the horizontal strokes moving upward from left to right (see the form in Leeds). The evolution of the *zayn* was rapid following the sixth century A.D. (see the forms in the later inscriptions and manuscripts), but that development lies outside the area of our concern.

The development of the *het* corresponds in many ways to the development of the *he* (the letter resembles a *he* with a vertical stroke along the left side). In its development, the letter became more oblique. Its chief characteristic is the middle horizontal stroke, which extends to the right of the vertical stroke. The left vertical stroke usually extends above the upper horizontal line. The same stroke exhibits a tendency to extend below the bottom horizontal line (so Shechem Decalogue and Leeds, as well as some of the later inscriptions).

The *fet* appears only in Mt. Nebo in the early materials. It resembles the *fet* of the Jewish script, a letter with a circular stroke curving into itself.

The Samaritan *yod* appears to have three short vertical strokes and a longer horizontal stroke. The letter, however, was made in three strokes, the horizontal bar being an extension of the upward left vertical stroke. The middle vertical stroke was made from the horizontal bar downward, and the right vertical stroke (the third stroke) was made from a point higher than the horizontal bar, and it extended downward to a point lower than the base of the left horizontal bar. The horizontal bar is frequently bowed and sometimes slants downward slightly in its left-to-right movement (so el-Mā and Mt. Nebo). In Ben-Zvi Lamp, the letter has shifted ninety degrees to the right, so that the vertical strokes are horizontal and the horizontal stroke is vertical. It should be noted that this was the original orientation of the letter in the older palaeo-Hebrew.

This particular case represents an isolated regression to the older form.

The evolutions of the *kaf*, *mem*, *nun*, and *pe* in the early Samaritan inscriptions were similar, so that these letters ought to be considered together. The *kaf* and *mem* are both known from First Emmaus. In this inscription the lower strokes of these two letters have not been squared. The tail of the *mem* in one form ends in a stroke which is almost horizontal, after curving under the head. In all three forms of the *mem* and *kaf* in First Emmaus, the tail ends at a point equal to the left end of the head. In Third Emmaus, the *mem* has been squared, and there is a short upward hook on the end of the lower horizontal stroke. This slight upward hook is to be seen in the *kaf*, *mem*, *nun*, and *pe* in el-Mā, Sychar, Early Gaza, and Salbit, although it is sometimes a wedge-shaped or heavily shaded end. Shechem Decalogue and Leeds have a distinct forty-five degree inward stroke at this point in these letters. In the development of the lower stroke of these letters there is a tendency for this embellishment to be replaced by an arched stroke (so some of the later manuscripts), although the hooked archetype is still evident. In Ben-Zvi Lamp, and Hamburger Amulet, the lower strokes have a tendency to slant slightly downward.

The head of the *kaf* still retains a semblance of its archaic cursive character in First Emmaus and in one case in Mt. Nebo. It tended to develop towards a squared form (for example, see the Shechem Decalogue), but the cursive effect is still evident in the wide head and slanting upper left stroke in el-Mā, Salbit, and Early Gaza. The *nun*, on the other hand, appears to be squared more consistently in the early inscriptions; Mt. Nebo, however, does exhibit a slightly cursive form. As for the *pe*, it is generally squared; a tendency for the upper horizontal stroke to slant downward is seen, however, in Sychar and, perhaps, in Early Gaza.

The head of the *mem* also experienced a development during the period represented by the early inscriptions. In general, the tendency

towards a widened head is evident, although this head is sometimes deep and sometimes extremely shallow. The three upward strokes of the head are tooth-shaped in First Emmaus. In other inscriptions they are straight lines (so Shechem Decalogue, Leeds, and Sychar) or arched strokes (so el-Mā, Mt. Nebo, and Early Gaza). The *mem* with the ornamental caps on the upper strokes of the head in the last line of Leeds was added at a later time; it is not a representative figure of the period of the early inscriptions and is not given in the palaeographic chart.

There are two slightly different forms of the *lamed* in First Emmaus. One is wish-bone shaped; neither has a flag on the upper stroke or a hook on the lower stroke, although these features are generally characteristic of the Samaritan form. In Third Emmaus, the upper stroke has a flag, and the lower stroke a downward hook. In the other inscriptions the upper flag remains, and the hook on the lower stroke (which is usually but not always present) moves upward.

The *samekh*, a distinctive letter in the later inscriptions and manuscripts, is found only in the Mt. Nebo in the early inscriptions. It is similar to the form in the later manuscripts.

The Samaritan *ayn* is generally triangular, but exhibits a number of variations. It is sometimes more rounded than angular (so First Emmaus and Third Emmaus); once it is quadrilateral (so Salbit). The *ayn* of Shechem Decalogue and Leeds is extremely angular.

The *šade* occurs several times in the early inscriptions, but with no great frequency. The upper stroke on the main part of the figure is usually arched. In el-Mā, the horizontal stroke on the left of the figure touches the left vertical stroke at a lower point than it does in the Shechem Decalogue.

The *qof* occurs in el-Mā, Sychar, and Shechem Decalogue. It appears to have been made with one single twisting stroke, although it sometimes gives the appearance of being a two-stroke letter. The body of the letter was comparatively large.

The *reš* of the early inscriptions exhibits a number of differently

shaped heads: triangular (First Emmaus and Early Gaza), rounded (Sychar), and quadrilateral (Shechem Decalogue and Leeds). The development of the letter appears to have followed this sequence. The downward vertical stroke exhibits a tendency to slant to the right and to become shorter. In the later inscriptions and manuscripts, the lower end of this stroke hooks inward, although this phenomenon sometimes appears to be present in the early inscriptions.

In the early forms of the *šin*, the lower stroke is bowed or curved, and the figure is comparatively shallow. As it developed, the lower line became straighter and the figure became more angular and larger.

The *taw* of Third Emmaus is a crudely formed, z-shaped letter, probably an approximation of a standard form, although a similar form also appears in Early Gaza. In general, the early Samaritan *taw* resembles an *ʾalef* with the upper right stroke absent (so el-Mā, Mt. Nebo, and Sychar). Leeds exhibits a *taw* which may be a more archaic type than these forms, judging from its affinities to the older palaeo-Hebrew letter. The letter was made with a stroke which moved upward as it passed through the crossbar to emerge on the left at a slightly higher point.

3. *The Samaritan Script and its Relations to the Palaeo-Hebrew*

The ancestry of the Samaritan script is to be traced ultimately to the cursive palaeo-Hebrew of the sixth century B.C.,⁴⁷ although the direct parentage is the palaeo-Hebrew of the late Hasmonaean period. The palaeo-Hebrew was an active script which experienced some development from the sixth to the second century B.C., but

⁴⁷ For the sixth-century cursive, see the script of the Lachish letters and the jar handles from Gibeon. Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, nos. 23–26; James B. Pritchard, *Hebrew Inscriptions from Gibeon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1959); F. M. Cross, Jr., "Epigraphical Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth–Sixth Centuries B.C.: III, The Inscribed Jar Handles from Gibeon," *BASOR*, 168 (1962), 18–23.

which began to develop more rapidly in the Hasmonaean era.⁴⁸ It is against the background of this latter stage of development that the Samaritan script is to be understood.

In the Lachish letters one finds an ^ʔ*alef* with a shortened vertical stroke and two strokes on the right of the letter which are virtually parallel. Aspects of this form were in fact anticipated in earlier Hebrew inscriptions.⁴⁹ The Gibeon jar handles also exhibit the ^ʔ*alef* with two parallel strokes on the right, although the vertical stroke is not shortened as much as it is in the Lachish forms. These forms represent the ancestry of the palaeo-Hebrew ^ʔ*alef* of the Hasmonaean age, although the later forms are distinctive.

The palaeo-Hebrew ^ʔ*alef* of the Hasmonaean era shows a remarkable similarity to the basic form of the early Samaritan ^ʔ*alef*. This similarity can be seen especially in the Leviticus fragments from Cave 1 (1Q Lev).⁵⁰ The agreement is not quite as great in 4Q Ex^α.⁵¹

⁴⁸ For the palaeo-Hebrew script from the sixth to the third century B.C., we are dependent upon seals, stamps, and coins: see Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, nos. 18–22. For studies relating to the epigraphy of the post-exilic palaeo-Hebrew stamps and seals, see L. H. Vincent, "Les épigraphes judéoaraméennes post-exiliques," *RB*, 56 (1949), 274–294; Y. Aḥaroni, "Excavations at Ramat-Raḥel, 1954, Preliminary Report," *IEJ*, 6 (1956), 137–155, plate 26; *Excavations at Ramat-Raḥel: Seasons 1959–1960*; "Some YHWD Stamps," *IEJ*, 9 (1959), 55–56, plate 4; Paul Lapp, "Late Royal Seals from Judah," *BASOR*, 158 (1960), 11–22; N. Avigad, "A New Class of *Yehud* Stamps," *IEJ*, 7 (1957), 146–153.

For the palaeo-Hebrew script during the Hasmonaean period, see Richard Hanson, "Palaeo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonaean Age," *BASOR*, 175 (1964), 26–42. One will find in this publication excellent charts of the scripts of this period, from the coins and the manuscripts, as well as a first-rate palaeographic analysis of the materials. The present work on the Samaritan script was originally done independently of Hanson's study. Since then, I have rechecked my work against his and have found that his conclusions support my own. I have also found a number of his suggestions helpful in clarifying my comparative analysis; I have tried to incorporate these where they are relevant.

⁴⁹ See F. M. Cross, Jr., "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth–Sixth Centuries B.C.: II, The Murabbaʿat Papyrus and the Letter Found near Yabneh-yam," *BASOR*, 165 (1962), 36–38.

⁵⁰ D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *DJD*, vol. I: *Qumrān Cave I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 51–54, plates vii–ix; Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, nos. 28–31. These were first published by Roland de Vaux, "La Grotte des manuscrits hébreux," *RB*, 56 (1949), 586–609. For early palaeographical study, compare

In fact, generally speaking, the forms of 4Q Ex^α represent a palaeographical stage of development anterior to that of 1Q Lev.⁵² The palaeographic distinctions between the two indicate that the script was undergoing a fairly rapid development from the late third to the early first century B.C. The ^ʔ*alef* of the palaeo-Hebrew fragments from the minor caves—a Leviticus fragment from Cave 2 (2Q 5), a Genesis fragment from Cave 6 (6Q 1), and a Leviticus fragment from Cave 6 (6Q 2)—agrees sometimes with 1Q Lev and sometimes with 4Q Ex^α.⁵³ The relation of the ^ʔ*alef* in these texts to the Samaritan ^ʔ*alef* can be seen in the upper right stroke which continues into the lower stroke on the left of the crossbar, with the upper right stroke roughly parallel to the lower right stroke (so 1Q Lev, 2Q 5). In almost every case the angle of the crossbar agrees with the angle of the crossbar on the Samaritan ^ʔ*alef*. The ^ʔ*alef* in the ^ʔ*el* fragment from Cave 1 (Birnbaum, 53) is similar to the form of the Samaritan letter, although the lower right stroke is longer than the stroke on the Samaritan letter.

Solomon Birnbaum, "The Leviticus Fragments from the Cave," *BASOR*, 118 (1950), 20–27, and S. Yeivin, "The Date and Attribution of the Leviticus Fragments from the Cache in the Judaean Desert," *BASOR*, 118 (1950), 29–30. De Vaux had originally suggested a date in the late fourth or early third century for these fragments. Yeivin identified the fragments as dating from the late Hasmonean or early Roman period. In this he was essentially correct, but he was too hasty in his judgment that these fragments were the remains of a Samaritan manuscript. See also Hanson, "Palaeo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonean Age," pp. 38–41.

⁵¹ Patrick W. Skehan, "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumrān," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 182–187.

⁵² Hanson has proposed the following dates for the published palaeo-Hebrew fragments, based upon typological sequence and upon comparison with the coin scripts: *Exodus fragments*: (4Q Ex^α and Birnbaum's 32), ca. 225–175 B.C.; *Genesis fragments* (6Q 1, in *DJD*, vol. III, plate xx:1), second half of the second century B.C.; *Leviticus fragments from Caves One and Two* (1Q Lev and 2Q 5, in *DJD*, vol. III, plate xii:5), ca. 125–75 B.C.; *Leviticus fragments from Cave Six* (6Q 2, in *DJD*, vol. III, plate xx:2), first half of the first century B.C. See Hanson, "Palaeo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonean Age," pp. 34–42.

⁵³ See M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *DJD*, vol. III: *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrān* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), plates xii, xx.

The further development of the palaeo-Hebrew *ʿalef* can be traced through the Roman period in the coins of the two revolts.⁵⁴ This development sometimes corresponds with the development of the Samaritan form (notably in the tendency for the two parallel strokes on the right to become separated by a greater distance), but differs from the Samaritan form in the angle to the horizon at which the major downward stroke or crossbar is made. In the Jewish forms, the downward stroke becomes vertical (so the Year Four silver shekels of the first revolt and the Eleazar, Freedom of Israel, and Redemption of Israel coins—but not the Redemption of Zion coins—of the second revolt). This phenomenon is not paralleled in the development of the Samaritan form. On the other hand, the descent of the lower right stroke to the bottom of the crossbar on the Redemption of Zion coins is paralleled in the later development of the Samaritan *ʿalef*.

⁵⁴ For photographs of the Jewish coins, see Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, nos. 47–63. See also, G. F. Hill, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in British Museum, Palestine* (London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1914), pp. xcii–xciv, cii; Leo Kadman, "The Hebrew Coin Script, A Study in the Epigraphy of Ancient Jewish Coins," *IEJ*, 4 (1954), 150–169. Also of value are the works of Adolf Reifenberg: *Ancient Jewish Coins* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1947); *Israel's History on Coins* (London: East and West Library, 1953). Of questionable value is Wolf Wirgin and Siegfried Mandel, *The History of Coins and Symbols in Ancient Israel* (New York: Exposition Press, 1958). For a critical evaluation of this work, see B. Kirschner, "hyḏšym bñwmyšm'tyqh h'bryt," in *ʿereš yišrā'el* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1960), VI, 115–121 (an English summary, "New Views in Hebrew Numismatics," appears on p. 34). See also Arie Kindler, "The Coinage of the Hasmonaean Dynasty," in *The Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins and Symbols* (Numismatic Studies and Researches, vol. II, Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1958), pp. 10–18; Arie Kindler, "The Jaffa Hoard of Alexander Jannaeus," *IEJ*, 4 (1954), 170–185; Leo Kadman, "The Development of Jewish Coinage," in *The Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins*, pp. 98–103; "ktb hmtb'wt h'bryt" (see n. 11). On Jewish numismatics of the Roman period, see in particular, Leo Kadman, *The Coins of the Jewish War of 66–73 C.E.* (Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium, vol. III, Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1960); Leo Kadman, "The Coins of the Jewish Roman War," in *Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins*, pp. 42–61; L. Middenberg, "The Eleazar Coins of the Bar-Kokhba Rebellion," *Historia Judaica*, 11 (1949), 77–108; L. Y. Rahmani, "The Coins from the Cave of Horror," *IEJ*, 12 (1962), 200, plate 30, A–D.

It has been noted that the early Samaritan *bet* was characterized by a triangular head, a slightly curved vertical stroke, and a horizontal base. The form thus reveals its descent from the triangular headed palaeo-Hebrew *bet* of the sixth century B.C., although the Lachish *bet* had a less angular head and the horizontal base was not as developed. The horizontal base is to be seen, however on a *bet* in Birnbaum, 20, and also on the late seventh/early sixth century seal from Shechem.⁵⁵ The earliest Hasmonaean coins do not have the *bet* with the horizontal base (so the coins of John Hyrcanus and Judas Aristobulus), although the later coins do (so the coins of John Hyrcanus II and Antigonus Mattathias). In actual form, the palaeo-Hebrew *bet* most like the early Samaritan *bet* is to be found in the examples from the Qumrân fragments—especially in 4Q Ex^a and 1Q Lev—and in the John Hyrcanus II coins. A comparable *bet* appears in the coins of Antigonus Mattathias, although this *bet* has a distinctive feature in the breakthrough of the upper right stroke of the head (so Reifenberg, *IHC*, no. 3, but see Birnbaum, 54). The *bet* of the John Hyrcanus and Judas Aristobulus coins, with its slanting horizontal base, is not the form one would expect in the development of the letter. It is likely that the form was influenced by some external factor, possibly by the *bet* of the concurrent Phoenician script. In the coins of the Roman period, the form of the *bet* is similar to the late Hasmonaean and early Samaritan forms.

The stance of the Samaritan *gimel* reveals its ultimate descent from the cursive palaeo-Hebrew of the sixth century. The distinctive features of the Samaritan letter (the breakthrough on the upper right corner, the downward hook on the open end of the upper stroke, and the inward hook on the vertical stroke) are derived from tendencies seen already in the Hasmonaean coins and Qumrân fragments. The breakthrough on the upper right is seen in 4Q Ex^a, 1Q Lev, and

⁵⁵ F. M. Cross, Jr., "An Inscribed Seal from Balâṭah (Shechem)," *BASOR*, 167 (1962), 14–15. See also, G. Ernest Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), figure 91.

the John Hyrcanus II coins; the downward hook on the upper stroke is indicated in 6Q 2; the inward hook on the vertical stroke is found in 1Q Lev. These tendencies are lacking in the Jewish palaeo-Hebrew of the Roman period (coins of the second revolt).

The relationship of the Samaritan *dalet* to the palaeo-Hebrew *dalet* is to be seen in the breakthrough of the upper right corner of the head and in the angle, slant, and length of the vertical stroke; the trapezoidal head of the Samaritan figure belongs to the unique development of that letter. The breakthrough at the upper right corner occurred at a fairly early time. It is present in the Lachish *dalet* and also in the Yabneh-yam *dalet*,⁵⁶ and, to a lesser extent, in the Samaria ostraca. It also appears in the Gedaliah seal impression of the sixth century.⁵⁷ The breakthrough became more pronounced in the late Greek period (so 4Q Ex^a) and in the script of the Hasmonean period (so the Aristobulus coins and 1Q Lev). The lengthening and slanting of the downward stroke developed during the Persian and Greek periods, as is evident from the *thyhd* impressions and the Hezekiah coin from Beth-Zur.⁵⁸ This tendency was developed in the *dalet* of 1Q Lev and 2Q5. The lengthened slanting stroke of the Samaritan form derives from this latter stage of development. The Year Four coins of the first revolt exhibit a development comparable to the development of the Samaritan letter.

The Samaritan *he*, with its rounded upper stroke and its extension of the middle horizontal stroke on the right of the figure, is derived from the palaeo-Hebrew *he* of the Hasmonaean period represented in 1Q Lev. The *he* of 1Q Lev signifies a major shift in the form of the

⁵⁶ On the significance of the palaeography of the Yabneh-yam letter, see Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents on the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II, The Murabba'at Papyrus and the Letter Found Near Yabneh-yam."

⁵⁷ For a photograph of the Gedaliah impression, see D. Diringer, "Seals," in D. Winton Thomas, *Documents from Old Testament Times* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958), p. 223, plate 13.

⁵⁸ The reading of a *dalet* on the left side of the coin is that of Cross (in personal communication). For a photograph of the coin, see J. Weingreen, "Coins," in Winton Thomas, *Documents from Old Testament Times*, plate 14.

letter. During the Persian and Greek periods, the *he* came to be made with a slanting stroke from the upper right corner to a point to the left of the center of the vertical stroke, and then straight back to the vertical line. This created a small triangle in the figure. A similar figure is also to be seen on the coins of the Hasmonaean period (from John Hyrcanus to John Hyrcanus II), and also in 4Q Ex^a. In 1Q Lev, however, a major shift in the evolution of the letter occurred. The *he* of 1Q Lev and 2Q 5 was made with an upper horizontal stroke which curved downward and extended to the right before veering back to the left to make the second horizontal stroke. This created a short stroke to the right of the downward vertical stroke opposite the middle horizontal line, rather than opposite the upper horizontal line (such as is found in the *he* of the Lachish script). This tendency is not evident in the *he* of the palaeo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton in 1Qp Hab., and it was also rejected in the development of the letter in the Roman coin script. During the Roman period there was a return to the earlier form of the letter in which the breakthrough on the right is opposite the upper horizontal stroke. The curious departure of the Hasmonaean *he* of 1Q Lev was taken up in the Samaritan letter, where it soon became the model of the standard Samaritan form.

For palaeographical purposes, the *waw* is one of the most important of the Samaritan letters. Its development can be traced from the earliest Samaritan inscription (in which no less than three examples are to be found) to the late manuscripts. As has been indicated, the prototype of the letter appears to have been a reversed z-shaped figure with a lower stroke or tail which hooked to the left. In its development the general orientation of the letter became more oblique. The short left-to-right vertical stroke connecting the two horizontal lines of the head became a right-to-left stroke and soon lost its z-shaped character. The Samaritan *waw* reveals its descent from the palaeo-Hebrew *waw* of the late sixth century, where the letter was beginning to be made with a reversed z-shaped head.

This tendency can be noted in the cursive forms of the Yabneh-yam letter and the script of the palaeo-Hebrew palimpsest from Murabba'ât,⁵⁹ as well as in the Lachish script. The impressions from Gibeon reveal a similar letter, although the tail is longer. The stage of development from which the Samaritan letter is derived, however, must be placed in the Hasmonaean period. Not only are the closest examples found in the script of that era, but in a number of ways the development of the palaeo-Hebrew *waw* during this period parallels its development in the early Samaritan inscriptions. The closest agreement between the early Samaritan *waw* and the Hasmonaean palaeo-Hebrew *waw* is found in 1Q Lev. The *waw* of the coin script exhibits some development from the coins of John Hyrcanus to the Antigonus Mattathias coins, with the latter showing the greatest similarity to the Samaritan form. The development of the *waw* in 6Q 2 and 2Q 5 was similar to the development of the *waw* in the Samaritan inscriptions after Third Emmaus. In general, the development of the letter in the Roman coin script does not parallel its development in the Samaritan script, although the Redemption of Zion coins of the second revolt exhibit a comparable letter.

The distinctive *zayn* of the Samaritan manuscripts was the product of the independent development of the letter within the Samaritan community. The prototype of the letter can be traced ultimately to the cursive *zayn* of the late sixth century, but the form bears a greater similarity to the *zayn* of the coins of the second revolt.

The observations concerning the origins of the Samaritan *he* hold true for the origins of the Samaritan *het*, especially in regard to the overlap of the middle horizontal stroke on the right of the figure. This phenomenon can be seen in the *het* of Birnbaum, 32, and in 1Q Lev. As with the *he*, this tendency was not carried through in the palaeo-Hebrew of the Jewish coins.

The Samaritan *tet* is similar to the *tet* of 4Q Ex^a. The older form of the letter (which resembles an x in parentheses) is still to be found

⁵⁹ See n. 56.

in 2Q 5, but the type from which the Samaritan letter is derived is that found in 4Q Ex^a. The development of the letter is difficult to trace because of the infrequency of its occurrence in the materials now at our disposal.

As has been noted, the Samaritan *yod* differs from its palaeo-Hebrew ancestry in its ninety-degree shift in orientation and in the overlap of the lower stroke (the extreme right stroke of the Samaritan form). This created a third vertical stroke on the right side of the Samaritan figure, where the older palaeo-Hebrew form had but two (horizontal rather than vertical) strokes. This development is not evident in the Lachish script, but it is anticipated in the slant of the vertical stroke towards the left in the *yod* of the Hezekiah coin and also in the *yršlm* seals of the Persian period.⁶⁰ This tendency was further developed in 4Q Ex^a, 1Q Lev, and 6Q 2 (especially in the latter), and in the coins of John Hyrcanus, Judas Aristobulus, and Alexander Jannaeus (especially in the latter). The extension of the overlap to the left to form a stroke as long as the stroke on the right can be seen in 6Q 2, and also on the *yod* of the Tetragrammaton in 1Qp Hab., although this *yod* has two strokes on the left rather than three. This tendency was continued in the Samaritan *yod*, but rejected in the palaeo-Hebrew *yod* of the Roman coin script.

The palaeo-Hebrew *yod* was possibly influenced by the form of the letter in the Phoenician script. Phoenician writing underwent a major shift in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.⁶¹ The effect of this shift upon the *yod* can be seen in a development of a form similar to the Samaritan letter. In the Eshmunazar sarcophagus script, for example, the *yod* has turned approximately ninety degrees, and a third stroke has been created on the left (now lower half) of the figure.⁶² Although the

⁶⁰ See Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, nos. 44–45.

⁶¹ See J. Brian Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

⁶² A photograph of the Eshmunazar inscription is given in James Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 87, no. 283.

possibility that the Samaritan *yod* was directly influenced by the Phoenician letter can not be discounted, it seems most likely that the Phoenician form influenced the palaeo-Hebrew, and that the Samaritan letter acquired this tendency through that channel of influence.

The palaeo-Hebrew *kaf*, from which the Samaritan letter is derived, developed from the cursive *kaf* known from the Murabba'at palimpsest, the Yabneh-yam letter, and the Lachish ostraca. The immediate form upon which the Samaritan letter is based, however, had been squared; its base had been made more horizontal, and its head had been made with a vertical stroke on the left and a vertical stroke on the right which descended to the base. Although the tendency to bring the base under the head on a near horizontal plane can be seen already in the Persian period, the squaring of the head was slower in developing. The more cursive head is still to be seen in 4Q Ex^a, 6Q 1, 6Q 2, and 1Q Lev, although the squared head is also to be seen in the latter and in 2Q 5, and perhaps also in the Hasmonaeen coins. It was from the form of the *kaf* represented in the squared type of 1Q Lev and 2Q 5 that the Samaritan letter developed. The *kaf* followed the same tendency in the palaeo-Hebrew of the Roman coins. The Eleazar coin of the second revolt, however, exhibits a *kaf* without the vertical strokes of the head. This phenomenon is unparalleled in the Samaritan *kaf* and is, in itself, difficult to explain.

It is the upward flourish and the hook on the horizontal base of the Samaritan *lamed* which provide the best points of comparison with the palaeo-Hebrew. Although the earliest Samaritan inscription (First Emmaus) has a flattened upper stroke, almost all of the other early Samaritan *lameds* have an upper stroke which continues into a flourish or hook to the left. Most early Samaritan *lameds* also have a hook on the lower base. The flourish on the upper stroke of the palaeo-Hebrew form can be seen as early as the Lachish script. The inward hook on the horizontal base also occurs at an early time; it

is present on the Shechem seal (*lmbn*) from the late seventh or early sixth century⁶³ and also on the seal impression of Gedaliah.⁶⁴ These tendencies were continued, but not accentuated, except in the upward hook on the horizontal stroke, in the palaeo-Hebrew of the Hasmonaean period; the upward flourish on the vertical stroke and the upward hook on the horizontal base are evident in the Hyrcanus coins, 4Q Ex^a, 1Q Lev, 6Q 1, and the ³*el* fragment from Cave 1 (Birnbaum, 53). They are not so evident in the coin script of the Roman period, although the upward hook on the base is sometimes present.

The relation of the Samaritan *mem* to the palaeo-Hebrew *mem* of the Hasmonaean period is to be seen in the widened head and horizontal base of the form in the fragments (especially in 1Q Lev and 2Q 5). These features are a development of earlier tendencies in the development of the letter, seen not so much in the Lachish script as in the Gibeon impressions, where the head is made with a horizontal stroke and three upward strokes, and the tail of the letter is turned to the left to make a horizontal base. A *mem* similar to the Samaritan form can also be seen on the Sanballat seal of the mid fourth century.⁶⁵ These tendencies were followed in the *mem* of the Hasmonaean and Roman periods, with the further development of the rounding of the head. The extreme right vertical stroke of the head also began to cant towards the right in the Hasmonaean forms, especially in 1Q Lev. These tendencies were continued in the early Samaritan *mem*. The development of the palaeo-Hebrew *mem* of the Roman period does not represent any radical departure from the concurrent development of the Samaritan letter.

The palaeo-Hebrew form from which the Samaritan *nun* is derived traces its ancestry to the cursive *nun* of the late sixth century. In the Lachish forms, the tail has shortened and begins to turn under the

⁶³ See n. 55.

⁶⁴ Winton Thomas, *Documents from Old Testament Times*, plate 13.

⁶⁵ A study of this seal is to be published by Cross.

head. The upper right stroke, evident on the Siloam inscription and the Samaria ostraca, has vanished. In the *nun* of the late Hasmonaeen coins (John Hyrcanus II and Antigonus Mattathias) and all the Qumrân fragments from 4Q Ex^a on, the letter has become squared. The tail has turned under the head to make a horizontal stroke. The older upper right stroke returns, however, in the coins of Alexander Jannaeus and John Hyrcanus II. It is represented in an extension of the upper horizontal stroke on the right in the Antigonus Mattathias coins and also in 1Q Lev. The Samaritan form may be described as a development of the *nun* beyond the immediate forms known from the Qumrân fragments and the Hasmonaeen coins. A similar development may be observed in the palaeo-Hebrew coin script of the second revolt, with one notable exception—the upper stroke of the Samaritan *nun* tends to be longer than the corresponding stroke in the Jewish palaeo-Hebrew.

Examples of the *samekh* in our materials are too few to justify conclusions concerning the palaeographic development of the letter. The *samekh* of the Leviticus fragments bears little resemblance to the Samaritan letter, except for some aspects of the head. In this case, the Hasmonaeen *samekh* is in general closer to the form of the Samaritan letter than is the older cursive *samekh* of the sixth century.

The triangular *ʿayn* of the Samaritan script is the continuation of a tendency found already in the pre-exilic cursive letter. The generally triangular *ʿayn* can be seen in the Yabneh-yam letter and in the Gibeon impressions. It continued in the form of the letter in the Qumrân fragments, and was more fully developed in the Samaritan script. The earliest Samaritan *ʿayn* is not so triangular as the later forms (although the *ʿayn* of the sixth century is extremely angular), and it bears a close resemblance to the Hasmonaeen form. The palaeo-Hebrew *ʿayn* of the Roman coin script appears to have rejected the triangular development in favor of a more cursive figure. The Eleazar coin of the second revolt does have an *ʿayn* similar to the form in the Salbit Mosaic.

The early Samaritan *pe* is similar to the square *pe* of 4Q Ex^a, and is quite obviously a development from the form represented in that bookhand. The tendency for the vertical stroke to turn under the upper horizontal stroke can be seen already in the Lachish *pe*, although the development of the lower horizontal stroke is most clear in the forms from 4Q Ex^a. It is unfortunate that examples of the *pe* are lacking in the Hasmonaeen and Roman coin scripts. With more examples it might be possible to explain the relationship of the form of 1Q Lev and 2Q 5 to the development of the letter.

The descent of the Samaritan *šade* from the palaeo-Hebrew form is evident in the orientation of the letter and in the outward stroke on the left of the figure. The movement toward the inverted w-shaped figure appears as early as the Lachish script. The form becomes more horizontal in its orientation in the pre-Hasmonaeen and Hasmonaeen periods. At the same time, there was a tendency for the top of the figure to become more rounded and less deep at the top (so Birnbaum, 32 and 1Q Lev). The stroke on the left of the figure also became shortened and moved toward the upper part of the main part of the figure. These trends were continued in the Samaritan *šade*. In the palaeo-Hebrew of the Roman period, the letter returned to an earlier type. The inverted w-effect was deepened, and the stroke on the left moved to the bottom of the main part of the figure.⁶⁶

The Samaritan *qof*, like the Aramaic *qof*, was made with one continuous twisting stroke. The palaeo-Hebrew *qof* after the sixth century, however, was made with two strokes—a downward curved stroke on the left which descended to the right, continuing into the tail, and an upper curved stroke on the right which descended to

⁶⁶ John Strugnell has suggested (in personal correspondence) that the trends that developed in the Samaritan *šade* are to be found in 4Q Ex^a, while the *šade* of 1Q Lev was the basic form which continued into the *šade* of the Roman coins. If this is the case, the ancestry of the Samaritan *šade* is to be traced to the early Hasmonaeen or pre-Hasmonaeen period (4Q Ex^a) rather than the later Hasmonaeen period (1Q Lev).

the left, creating the effect of an open head. This *qof* is evident in the Lachish script and is still evident in the forms of the letter in the Qumrân fragments, although the latter forms had developed beyond their sixth-century ancestry. A *qof* like the Samaritan *qof*, with a continuous stroke, does appear in the Jerusalem the Holy coins of the first revolt. This is the earliest palaeo-Hebrew example of this type. In other respects, the palaeo-Hebrew *qof* of the Roman period does not agree with the Samaritan form; the tail is too long.

Certain tentative suggestions can be offered about the Samaritan *qof* on the basis of these observations. The prototype of the Samaritan *qof* was derived from a form of the palaeo-Hebrew which had developed beyond the type known from the examples of the Hasmonaean period. On the one hand, the origin of the Samaritan *qof* can be no earlier than the Hasmonaean period; on the other hand the immediate parentage of the form is unknown. It is not likely that the Samaritan form is derived from the palaeo-Hebrew *qof* of the Roman period, for, aside from the open head, it is unlike the Samaritan letter. It is more likely that both the palaeo-Hebrew *qof* of the Roman period and the Samaritan *qof* are derived from a stage of development of the letter for which the Hasmonaean materials give us no exemplar.

The prototype of the Samaritan *reš* appears to have been a figure with a rounded triangular head and a slanting vertical stroke. In its development the head assumed other shapes (rounded and quadrilateral) and the vertical stroke became shorter and hooked to the left. The triangular head of the palaeo-Hebrew *reš* appears as early as the eighth century (in the Samaria ostraca), but the ancestry of the Samaritan form is to be traced to the sixth-century cursive form with its shortened vertical stroke which slants to the right. The *reš* of the Hasmonaean fragments and coins is basically triangular, but sometimes rounded, as is the case with the early Samaritan forms. In the Roman coin script, the rounded head predominates, although the triangular head also appears. The *reš* of 4Q Ex^a and 1Q Lev,

with its inward hook on the vertical stroke, is similar to the development of the Samaritan letter. This phenomenon was not carried through in the *reš* of the Roman coin script, although it may be reflected in the Freedom of Jerusalem coins of the second revolt.

The prototype of the Samaritan *šin* was a shallow letter, not much larger than the head of the *mem*, with a curved or bowed base. The shallowness of this letter had been increasing from the sixth century on. The *yršlm* stamps and the Sanballat seal exhibit a tendency toward shallowness, but the best examples of the shallow *šin* are found in the Hasmonaeen fragments, especially in 1Q Lev and 6Q 2. This tendency was carried over into the Samaritan script, but was not followed consistently in the palaeo-Hebrew forms of the Roman period. In the Roman coin script, the older deeper forms appear again, especially in the coins of the first revolt.

It has been suggested that the prototype of the Samaritan *taw* was a figure in which the right-to-left downward stroke moved upward as it passed through the crossbar. This phenomenon was not characteristic of the palaeo-Hebrew *taw*, although possibly the tendency may be observed in one instance in the coins of Antigonus Mattathias (Birnbaum, 54). It is not present in the Hasmonaeen fragments or in the Roman coin script. It was developed only in the Samaritan form of the letter. It appears that the archetype of the Samaritan *taw* is not to be found in the available Jewish palaeo-Hebrew forms.

Conclusions

The direct parentage of the Samaritan script was the palaeo-Hebrew of the Hasmonaeen period (understanding 4Q Ex^a to be very early Hasmonaeen or very late pre-Hasmonaeen), represented in the book-hand of that time, and, to a lesser extent, in the script of the late Hasmonaeen coins (especially the coins of John Hyrcanus II and Antigonus Mattathias). Ultimately, the tendencies and characteris-

tics of the palaeo-Hebrew forms from which the Samaritan script is derived can be traced to the cursive scripts of the late sixth century.⁶⁷ The palaeo-Hebrew had undergone considerable development from that time, however, when the Samaritan script branched off to start its own development. The closest affinities of the palaeo-Hebrew to the early Samaritan script (in almost every case) are to be found in the examples from the Hasmonaeon era. In many cases, the most striking examples of which are the *he*, *waw*, *het*, *yod*, and *sin*, the divergence of the Samaritan letters could have been no earlier than the Hasmonaeon period. The Samaritan script represents a departure from the palaeo-Hebrew at the stage of development which the script had reached at that time. By no stretch of the imagination can the Samaritan script be considered a script that had broken off from the palaeo-Hebrew at an earlier time to experience a similar, concurrent development.

The similarity of the Samaritan script to the *late* Hasmonaeon coins and manuscript forms (especially 1Q Lev, and also 2Q 5 and 6Q 2) suggests also that the Samaritan script branched off from the palaeo-Hebrew in the *late* Hasmonaeon period. It is difficult to be precise here, inasmuch as there are a number of similarities to the earlier forms of 4Q Ex^a. One can be certain, however, that the prototype of the earliest Samaritan epigraphs is derived from the stage of development reached by the palaeo-Hebrew in the Hasmonaeon period. The forms of the Samaritan letters were derived from the Jewish bookhand, as it was used by and is known from the Essene writers. If one may speak of an Essene bookhand, as one speaks of a Samaritan bookhand—and this itself is questionable,

⁶⁷ This does not preclude the influence of noncursive forms in the development of the palaeo-Hebrew from which the Samaritan script is derived. R. S. Hanson, for example, contends that the palaeo-Hebrew of the Hasmonaeon fragments is not a continuation of the sixth-century cursive, in spite of its cursive characteristics, but is rather a development of the formal script of the coins and seals of the Hellenistic period. See Hanson, "Palaeo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonaeon Age," pp. 34, 42.

because there was little time for an independent Essene development—one would have to place the origin of each in the same period!

Additional confirmation of the departure of the Samaritan script from the palaeo-Hebrew during the Hasmonaeen period can be seen in the further development of the palaeo-Hebrew during the first and second centuries A.D. On the one hand, this Jewish script sometimes agrees with the Samaritan (so the *bet*, *dalet*, *mem*, *nun*, and *qof*); on the other hand, it frequently disagrees with the script in use among the Samaritans (so the *he*, *waw*, *het*, *yod*, *‘ayn*, *šade*, and *taw*). The agreement is the result of common descent from the Hasmonaeen palaeo-Hebrew and of a comparable development with the concurrently developing Samaritan script. The lack of agreement is the result of the independent development of each script. If the Samaritan had branched off from the palaeo-Hebrew prior to the Hasmonaeen period, the forms of the Samaritan letters would be very different from what they are, and they would probably exhibit as great a disparity from the Hasmonaeen forms as they presently do from the forms of the Roman coin script, if not a greater one.

II. The Orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch

Samaritan orthography is often treated as part of the problem of the Samaritan textual tradition, probably because the majority of textual variants of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the Masoretic text are orthographic. According to one computation, there are about six thousand cases in which SP and MT differ.⁶⁸ Orthographic variants

⁶⁸ See two standard handbooks on the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible: B. J. Roberts, *The Old Testament Text and Versions* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951), p. 192; Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, trans. Peter R. Acroyd (New York: Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 31. This computation also appears in the early text-critical investigations of Paul Kahle: "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," *TSK*, 88 (1915), 399–439, esp. pp. 402–410. As far as I can determine, the comparatively poor manuscript of della Valle was the text originally used in this now standard computation.

are, however, difficult to reckon unless one takes a particular Samaritan manuscript as a *textus receptus* for such calculation. The standard edition of SP published by von Gall is not acceptable for this purpose.⁶⁹ It is an eclectic text which usually follows the shorter orthography, where Samaritan manuscripts offer both full and shorter readings. The fuller form is sometimes, but not always, listed in the critical apparatus.⁷⁰

Recently, an attempt has been made within the Samaritan community to establish a received or authorized text. This labor was undertaken by Avraham Šadaqa of Ḥolon, who, at the suggestion of Professor Ben-Ḥayyim and with the concurrence of the priests of Nablūs, chose not to publish an eclectic text. For Deuteronomy, he reproduced the text of ³*Abišā*, filling in the lacunae with readings from a manuscript purporting to be by one Abu ²al-Barakat, a Samaritan scribe of the twelfth/thirteenth centuries. For the rest of the Pentateuch he followed *one* manuscript tradition, a text which ranks next to ³*Abišā* in the respect of the community in Nablūs. Thus far, the full text has been published in the Samaritan script,⁷¹ and in a parallel edition (MT and SP) in the Jewish script.⁷² A

⁶⁹ August von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, 5 vols. (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1914–1918; reprinted in one volume, 1966).

⁷⁰ See the criticism of von Gall on this point by S. Talmon, "The Samaritan Pentateuch," *JJSt*, 2 (1951), 147.

Von Gall states in the "principles" (*Grundsätze*) followed in the compilation of his eclectic text: "Preference is given to the *scriptio defectiva*, although not in all circumstances, because I know full well that the vowel-letters were employed very early where grammatical considerations dictated. Therefore, strict observance of the rules of Hebrew grammar [is to be found]" (my translation of von Gall, *Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, p. lxviii). It can thus be seen that the orthography of this edition represents a reconstruction according to von Gall's own opinion of what the orthography should have been, and not according to what he found it to be in the manuscripts he consulted.

⁷¹ Avraham Šadaqa, *ḥmšh ḥwmšy twrh, nwšh šmry (šwmrwny)* (Tel-Aviv, 1959). The publications of Šadaqa, which include liturgical as well as biblical materials, were originally privately printed for use by the Samaritan community in Israel. They are available from Avraham Šadaqa, Box 2590, Tel-Aviv, Israel.

⁷² Avraham and Rašon Šadaqa, *ḥmšh ḥwmšy twrh, nwšh yhwdy, nwšh šwmrwny* (Tel-Aviv, 1961–1965).

trilingual edition (Hebrew–Aramaic–Arabic) comprising Genesis only has been published in the Samaritan script.⁷³ I have compared the orthography of this text with the orthography of von Gall's edition and found the latter to have fewer *plene* spellings than the former. This can be seen in the samplings from the Šadaqa text cited below.

One can say of Samaritan manuscripts in general that they show preference for the fuller orthography: the internal *matres lectionis* *yod* and *waw* are used extensively for the *i/e* and *o/u* vowels. This is true of words which occur in their corresponding forms in the Pentateuch of MT with the shorter forms, as well as words which may or may not be written with the full orthography in MT. Occasionally, a word will occur twice in one sentence in MT with both full and short orthography (for example, see Gen. 1:14, 15, 16). In the corresponding text in SP, the orthographic practice is usually more consistent. In addition to the *yod* and *waw*, the *alef* is occasionally used as a *mater* in SP, where the corresponding forms in MT are more restrictive. (Some examples are *k'nšym* in Gen. 18:11; *q'mh* in Gen. 37:7; *wš'ty* in Ex. 23:31; *bq'mt* in Deut. 23:26; and *hq'mym* in Deut. 28:7.⁷⁴) This phenomenon is not unknown in MT, but it is not common.⁷⁵

The preference of SP for the fuller orthography can be seen in the oldest part of the *Abiša'* scroll—the most sacred of the Samaritan texts. According to my computation, the *mater waw* is used in approximately 270 cases in Deuteronomy where MT has the shorter orthography. In contrast to this, there are about seventy-two instances where *Abiša'* Deuteronomy has the shorter orthography and MT the fuller reading. Of these seventy-two cases, however,

⁷³ Avraham Šadaqa, *h'mšh h'wmšy twrh, nwšh šwmrwny mtwrgmym l'rmyt w'rbyr*, vol. I: *br'šyt* (Tel-Aviv, 1965).

⁷⁴ These examples are given by Alexander Sperber, "Hebrew based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission," *HUCA*, 14 (1939), 176. The forms are found in the critical apparatus of von Gall's edition. The reading *bq'mt* is found also in *Abiša'*.

⁷⁵ See Sperber, "Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission," pp. 176–177. Examples in MT are found in the Prophets and Hagiographa.

there are at least twenty-one instances where another important Samaritan manuscript follows the full orthography.⁷⁶ There are also approximately 103 cases in which both ³*Abiša*^c Deuteronomy and MT use the restricted orthography where other Samaritan manuscripts employ the full orthography. A similar pattern appears in the use of the *mater yod*, although the figures do not run so high.

The following relatively well-preserved passages of ³*Abiša*^c Deuteronomy may be cited for examples of the Samaritan orthographic tradition:

Deuteronomy 9:1-29: 1, *lbw*³ (MT=*lb*³.), *w^cšwmym* (*waw* for *u*. MT and von Gall=*w^cšmym*.), *gdlt wt bšrwt* (MT=*gdlt wt bšrt*.); 7, *zkwr* (MT and von Gall=*zkr*.); 8, *wb^hwr^b* (MT=*wb^hrb*.); 9, *b^clwt^y* (MT and von Gall=*b^clty*.); 10, *ktwbym* (MT and von Gall=*ktbym*.); 18, *kr²yšwnh* (MT=*kr²šnh*.); 21, *hywr^d* (MT and von Gall=*hyrd*.); 23, *bqwlw* (MT=*bqlw*.); 26, *tš^hyt* (*yod* for *ē*, MT=*tš^ht*.); 27, *zkwr* (MT and von Gall=*zkr*.); 29, *hgdwl* (MT=*hgdl*.).

Deuteronomy 19:1-21: 4, *mtmwl šlšwm* (MT=*mtml šlšm*.); 5, *ybw²* (MT=*yb²*.); 8, *gbwlk* (*waw* for *u*. MT=*gblk*.); 9, *l^cšwth* (MT=*l^cšth*.); 14, *r²yšwnym* (with the *mater* written after the laryngal. MT=*r²šnym*.); 17, *whšwptym* (MT and von Gall=*whšptym*.); 18, *hšwptym* (MT and von Gall=*hšptym*.).

Deuteronomy 23:1-26: 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, *ybw²* (MT=*yb²*.); 3, *mmzyr* (*yod* for *ē*. MT and von Gall=*mmzr*.) 7, *wtwb^ttm* (MT=*wtbtm*.); 8, *²dwm^y* (MT and von Gall=*²dmy*.); 18, *qdyš^h* (*yod* for *ē*. MT and von Gall=*qdš^h*.), *qdyš* (MT and von Gall=*qdš*.); 25, 26, *tbw²* (MT=*tb²*.); 26, *bq²mt* and *q²mt* (*²alef* for *ā*. MT and von Gall=*bqmt* and *qmt*.).

These passages, representing seventy-six verses, exhibit thirty-seven variants in which ³*Abiša*^c Deuteronomy has a fuller orthography than MT. Of these, there are fourteen cases in which von Gall's edition agrees with the orthography of MT. In every case,

⁷⁶ According to the collation represented in the critical apparatus of Pérez Castro's edition.

however, there are other manuscripts supporting the full reading of ^ʾ*Abiša*^c. In contrast to this, there are only five variants in which MT exhibits a fuller orthography than ^ʾ*Abiša*^c: 9:3, *yknȳm*; 9:14, *ʾwtk*; 9:28, *ʾwtm*; 19:2, *šlwš*, 19:3 *tkyn*. In each case, von Gall's reading agrees with that of the ^ʾ*Abiša*^c scroll. He cites no cases of the *plene* readings in Samaritan manuscripts; nor does Perez Castro in his apparatus.

The preference of SP for the fuller orthography can be seen also in the following random selections from the Šadaqa text: *Genesis* 1: 12, *wtwšy*^ʾ (*yod* for *ē*. MT and von Gall=*wtwš*^ʾ); 14, *mʾwrwt* (MT=*mʾrt.*), *lʾwtwt* (MT=*lʾtt*, von Gall=*lʾtw.*); 15, *lmʾwrwt* (MT=*lmʾwt.*); 16, *hmʾwrwt* (MT=*hmʾrt.*), *hgdwl* (MT=*hgdl.*); 21 *htnynym* (MT=*htnynm.*), *lmynym* (*yod* for *ē*. MT=*lmynhm.*); 28, *wkbšwh* (*waw* for *u*. MT=*wkbšh.*); 29, *zry*^c (*yod* for *ē*. MT and von Gall=*zr.*^c). *Exodus* 4: 1, *lqwly* (MT=*bqly.*); 5, *ʾbwtm* (MT and von Gall=*ʾbtm.*); 6, *wywšyʾh* (MT and von Gall=*wywšʾh*; the same form appears in verse 8, but there von Gall agrees with the Šadaqa text.); 7, *hšyb* (*yod* for *ē*. MT and von Gall=*hšb*); 8, *lqwl hʾwt* (twice in the same sentence, MT=*lql hʾt.*); 9, *hʾwtwt* (MT and von Gall=*hʾtw.*), *lqwlk* (MT=*lqlk.*); 10, *mšlšwm* (MT=*mšlšm.*); 11, *hlw*^ʾ (MT and von Gall=*hl*^ʾ; the same form appears in verse 14, but there von Gall agrees with the Šadaqa text.); 17, *hʾwtwt* (MT=*hʾtt*, von Gall=*hʾtw.*); 19, *šwb* (MT=*šb.*); 20, *wyrkybm* (MT and von Gall=*wyrkbm.*), *hḥmwr* (MT=*hḥmr.*); 21, *hmwptym* (MT and von Gall=*hmptym.*); *ʾhzyq* (*yod* for *ē*. MT and von Gall=*ʾhzy.*); *bkwry* (MT and von Gall=*bkry.*); 25, *zpwrh* (MT=*zprh.*); 28, 30, *hʾwtwt* (MT=*hʾtt*, von Gall=*hʾtw.*). *Numbers* 11: 4, *yʾkylnw* (MT and von Gall=*yʾklnw.*); 5, *hqšwʾym* (*waw* for *u*. MT=*hqšym.*), *hʾbtyḥym* (MT and von Gall=*hʾbtyḥm.*); 8, *bmdwkh* (MT=*bmdkh.*); 10, *lmšpḥtyw* (MT and von Gall=*lmšptyw.*); 11, *mšty* (*ʿalef* for *ā*. MT=*mšty.*); 12, *lʾbwttyw* (MT and von Gall=*lʾbtyw.*); 16, *wšwṭryw* (MT and von Gall=*wšṭryw.*); 18, *yʾkylnw* (MT and von Gall=*yʾklnw.*); 26, *ʿlyhm* (*yod* for *ē*. MT=*ʿlhm.*), *bktwbym* (MT and von Gall=*bktbym.*).

In the above citations, there are forty-three instances in which the Šadaqa text has a reading with the full orthography where the corresponding form in MT is defective: in Genesis 1, there are ten orthographic variants out of thirty-one verses; in Exodus 4, there are twenty-two variants out of thirty-one verses; Numbers 11 gives eleven variants out of thirty-five verses. Among these forty-three cases, there are twenty instances in which von Gall's edition of SP agrees with MT against the fuller reading of the Šadaqa text: two in Genesis 1; eleven in Exodus 4; and seven in Numbers 11. However, in every case save two (*wyrkybm* in Exodus 4:20 and *zpwrh* in Exodus 4:25), von Gall cites manuscript evidence for a fuller reading.

In contrast to this, there are only nine instances in which MT exhibits a *plene* form where the corresponding form in the Šadaqa text is defective: two cases in Genesis 1 (20, *y^cwpp*. Šadaqa = *y^cpp*; 30, *rwms̄*. Šadaqa = *hrms̄*.); five in Exodus 4 (of which four are one form: *y^mmynw*, in vss. 1, 5, 8, and 9. Šadaqa = *y^mmnw*; 26, *lmwlt*. Šadaqa = *lmlwt*.); and two in Numbers 11 (6, *ynynw*. Šadaqa = *ynnw*; 12, *hryty*. Šadaqa = *hrt̄y*.). Of these nine cases, von Gall agrees with the shorter forms of the Šadaqa text in seven instances and with the fuller forms of MT in the two citations from Numbers.

The *mater* is used in SP in cases where the full form *could* also be used in MT, but is not. In addition, SP sometimes employs the *mater* where it could *not* be used in MT. According to the grammatical principles employed in the latter, the *mater* is used (but not consistently) to indicate the quantity of the vowel. The *mater* is not used for short vowels or reduced vowels. The Samaritans, however, have preserved a tradition of Hebrew which differs from that followed in MT.⁷⁷ This linguistic tradition is known from Samaritan philological writings and is indicated in the Samaritan recitation of the Torah. It is also to be seen in occasional forms in SP which are unusual by the principles of Tiberian Hebrew. A notable feature of the Samaritan tradition of Hebrew is the predominate penultimate

⁷⁷ See Introduction, n. 4.

stress and the absence of *šewa mobile*. Thus one finds some forms in SP which are extremely rare in MT.

The presence of these Samaritan Hebrew forms in SP raises an important question concerning the history of the orthographic tradition it represents: Is the orthography of SP the result of a long history of development in which the *matres* came to be employed with greater frequency (not only to indicate pronunciation, but to indicate the distinctive Samaritan pronunciation) subsequent to the establishment of the sectarian text? Or does the orthography of the Samaritan text reflect an orthographic tradition of the archetype from which present Samaritan texts are descended? From the evidence of available manuscripts, which exhibit variations in orthography, it is necessary to conclude that Samaritan scribes have exercised a greater liberty in the use of *matres lectionis* than has been found among Jewish scribes. Zev Ben-Ḥayyim has explained (and overstated) this in the following way: "The Masoretic text in general is fixed; has been transmitted with great care with regard to every single letter; and has not confused *plene* and defective spelling. This is not the case with the Samaritan version. The hundreds of known manuscripts differ greatly in matters of orthography. The Samaritans see as their main purpose *the transmission of their reading tradition, which has even influenced their written one.*"⁷⁸

This explanation may account, in part, for some of the distinctive grammatical forms in SP. Some of these, however, may well be ancient and may represent readings found in the text-archetype. Readings corresponding to the Samaritan pronunciation of Hebrew are found, for example, in the Hasmonaean texts of Qumrân. The same can be said for orthography; the orthographic tradition of the Qumrân texts corresponds roughly to the orthographic tradition of SP. There is, then, *no antecedent necessity of ascribing the full orthography of SP to the liberties of medieval copyists.* Indeed, the

⁷⁸ From Ben-Ḥayyim's preface of the parallel edition (MT and SP) of Deuteronomy (see n. 72). The italics are my own.

fact that Samaritan scribes felt free to be liberal in the use of the *mater* can well be explained if the ancient Samaritan text made full (but not consistent) use of the *mater*, just as the restrictive use of the *mater* in Jewish Pentateuchal texts reflects its restricted use in the established Jewish consonantal text.

The orthographic tradition of SP is, then, more fully developed than the orthographic tradition preserved in the Pentateuch of MT. To scholars of the nineteenth century, following Gesenius,⁷⁹ this fact seemed to support the contention that the text of the extant Samaritan manuscripts was based on a relatively late medieval textual tradition. The fuller orthography of SP was considered to be a later development of the earlier, restricted orthography. This evaluation of SP was challenged in the nineteenth century by Abraham Geiger,⁸⁰ and in the twentieth century by Paul Kahle. Kahle suggested that SP was in fact the representative of an early popular or vulgar textual tradition which was revised in one stage of its development to bring it into line with the more official text represented in MT.⁸¹ This position was further developed by Gillis Gerleman in his *Synoptic Studies in the Old Testament*.⁸² Gerleman noted that SP bears a relationship to the Pentateuch of MT which can be compared to the relationship of Chronicles to Samuel-Kings: SP and Chronicles followed "vulgar" textual traditions (of which the full orthography was one characteristic) and Samuel-Kings and the Pentateuch of MT followed "official" textual traditions (of which the shorter orthography was a characteristic).

The recent discovery of biblical texts with full orthography from

⁷⁹ William Gesenius, *De pentateuchi samaritani origine, indole et auctoritate commentatio philologico-critica* (Halle, 1815).

⁸⁰ See below, n. 125.

⁸¹ Kahle, "Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," pp. 402-410. The designation "vulgar" must now be rejected. See the remarks of Cross, in "History of the Biblical Text," pp. 298-299.

⁸² Gillis Gerleman, *Synoptic Studies in the Old Testament* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1948), a 35-page monograph published in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, new series, vol. 44, no. 5.

the Hasmonaean period indicates that Kahle and Gerleman were correct in at least one respect: the full orthography of SP does *not* indicate that the textual tradition it represents is derived from a relatively late manuscript tradition. The theory of official/vulgar texts, however, must be rethought; I will deal with it within the problem of the Samaritan textual tradition.

The orthography of the Hasmonaean texts is extremely important in determining the orthographic principles employed in Hebrew writing during the last centuries of the pre-Christian era. These texts indicate that the full orthography reached its highest development during this period. It is the full orthography that is preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch, in contrast to the more restrictive orthography found in the textual tradition selected for the Pentateuch in the stabilization of the biblical text in Rabbinic circles in the late first century A.D.

Late Hebrew Orthography and Its Relations to the Orthographic Tradition of SP

In their definitive study of early Hebrew orthography, Cross and Freedman examined the early epigraphic evidence relating to Hebrew spelling and noted the following characteristics:⁸³ Before the tenth century B.C., strict phonetic consonantism was observed in Hebrew writing with no *matres lectionis* being used, either medially or finally, to represent vowel sounds. This practice followed the principles of Phoenician spelling, as might be expected from the cultural contacts of the Israelites with Phoenicia during this period. In the ninth century, and under the influence of orthographic practices among the Aramaeans, consonants began to appear in

⁸³ Cross and Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, pp. 58–60. Merton Sherman has extended the limits of this investigation in a consideration of non-biblical Aramaic and Hebrew texts down to *ca.* A.D. 135. See Merton Sherman, "Systems of Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography: An Epigraphic History of the use of *matres lectionis* in Non-Biblical Texts to *circa* A.D. 135" (unpub. dissertation, Harvard University, 1966).

final position as *matres lectionis*. From that time on, final vowels were indicated in orthography: *yod* was used for final *ī*, *waw* for final *ū*, and *he* for final *ā*, *ē*, and *ō*. The development of the internal *mater* in Hebrew orthography was comparatively late. Examples of the medial *mater yod* in Hebrew epigraphic materials date from the sixth century, although the internal *mater* appears sporadically in Aramaic materials of almost a century earlier.

The internal *yod* and *waw* letters in early Hebrew inscriptions are not *matres lectionis*, but represent the diphthongs *ay* and *aw*. These remained uncontracted in the Judahite dialect of Hebrew as late as the sixth century, although this contraction had begun earlier in the northern dialect. In early practice, the consonant was dropped in the contraction of diphthongs, the principle of historical spelling not being followed. The origin of the internal *mater* is not to be traced, then, to the preservation of historical spellings in the contraction of diphthongs. Rather, the example of the final *mater* for the final vowel sound must have extended to the similar practice for the internal vowel sound. Thereafter, it would have been natural to preserve the *yod* and *waw* in historical spelling to represent the lengthened vowels *ē* and *ō*. Historical spelling played an important part in the later development of orthographic practice, but was not the source of the internal *mater*.⁸⁴

During the post-exilic period, the consonants *yod* and *waw* received as new values *ē* and *ō* with the contraction of the diphthongs *ay* and *aw*. The use of *waw* for the third person masculine singular pronominal suffix also developed during this period, the *he* originally having been used.⁸⁵ The internal *mater* began to appear more

⁸⁴ Cross and Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, pp. 52-59.

⁸⁵ W. F. Albright has pointed out that the orthography of the early sixth century is still reflected in the Psalm of Habakkuk. There are numerous cases of the so-called defective spelling in the interior of words, and final *he* appears in two or three cases for the third person masculine suffix (Habakkuk 3:4, 11 and perhaps 14); W. F. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," in H. H. Rowley, ed., *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy: Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson by the Society for Old Testament Study* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, n.d.), p. 10.

frequently, and, with the quiescence of the ²*alef*, that letter also began to be used as a final *mater*.⁸⁶

From the materials now available, it is evident that the use of the internal *mater* developed slowly in Hebrew orthographic practice through the Persian and Greek periods. In the Maccabaeian period, however, the so-called *plene* writing appears in abundance. It was during this period that the use of the internal *matres* reached the highest stage of its development.⁸⁷

4Q Sam^b provides examples of Hebrew writing of the pre-Hasmonaeian period.⁸⁸ In seven fragments of this manuscript (I Sam. 16:1-11; 19:10-17; 21:3-10; 23:9-17), there are four cases of words using fewer internal *matres* than MT, and no cases of words using more. Moreover, the corresponding consonantal text of MT is relatively defective in its orthography (that is, the shorter orthography predominates). The four examples of shorter readings (as compared to MT) are: *bb²m* in I Sam. 16:6 (MT=*bbw²m*.); *qmtw* in 16:7 (MT=*qwm²tw*.); *h²ln* in 19:12 (MT=*h²lwn*.); and ²*pk* in 21:10 (MT=*h²pwk*.).⁸⁹

In a preliminary study of two other (yet unpublished) pre-Hasmonaeian texts from Cave 4 (4Q Ex^f and 4Q Jer^a), D. N. Freedman has noted that 4Q Sam^b is the most conservative of the early Qumrân texts. Whereas it does not use *waw* for *ō* (<*ā*), the other texts tend to do so, although inconsistently. In all three, the diph-

⁸⁶ This phenomenon was developed extensively in Aramaic. It appears in Hebrew orthography of the Hasmonaeian era, although its use in MT is quite limited.

⁸⁷ See Sherman, "Systems of Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography."

⁸⁸ F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumrân," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 147-172. In his palaeographic study of these fragments, Cross was able to establish a date ranging from the late fourth to the early second centuries B.C., with a date in the last quarter of the third century preferred. From the palaeography of the recently discovered papyri from Wādī Dāliyah it is now evident that Cross's dating was low. See his "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," *BA*, 26 (1963), 120.

⁸⁹ Reference ought to be made also to 5Q 1 (Deuteronomy), which exhibits a pre-Hasmonaeian orthography similar to 4Q Sam^b. See Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux, *DJD*, III, 169-171, pl. xxxvi.

thong *aw* is contracted to *ô*, but *ô* from *u* is not represented. The irregular use of the internal *mater waw* for *ô* would suggest, however, that this was not fully established practice, and that these manuscripts represent a period of transition in orthography as well as pronunciation.⁹⁰

The biblical texts of the Hasmonaeen and Herodian periods exhibit a fuller use of the *matres lectionis*. This is not only the case with texts from the Prophets and the Hagiographa (where in MT the orthography is generally fuller than the corresponding orthography of the Pentateuch), but is true also of Pentateuchal texts. This may be illustrated by several examples from published fragments:

1Q Ex:⁹¹ 20:26, *bm^clwt* (with SP, MT=*bm^clt.*).

1Q Lev: 19:31, *hyd^cwnym* (with SP, MT=*hyd^cnym.*); 20:23, *bhqwt* (with SP, MT=*bhq^t.*); however 20:22 has *hqty* (with MT, SP=*hqwty.*); 23:4, *wtm* (MT and SP=*tm*); 23:7, *hr^cyšwn* (with SP, MT=*hr^cšwn*).

1Q Deuteronomy^a: 9:27, *wly^cqwb* (MT and SP=*wly^cqb*); 11:27 *nwky* (MT and SP=*nky*); 11:29, *gryzym* (with SP, MT=*grzym*); 13:5, 14:25, *lwhykmh* (MT and SP=*lhykm.*).

1Q Deuteronomy^b: 29:16, *glwlyhm* (with SP, MT=*gllyhm*); 32:19, *wbnwtyw* (MT and SP=*wbntyw*).

2Q 2 (Exodus, first specimen):⁹² 1:14, *bwdtm* (MT and SP=*bdtm.*); 7:2, *w^chrwn* (MT and SP=*w^chrn.*); 7:4, *wlw^c* (MT and SP=*wl^c*); 9:29, *wyw^cmr* (MT and SP=*wy^cmr*); *hqlwt* (with SP, MT=*hqlwt.*); 11:4, *mwšh* (MT and SP=*mšh.*); 11:6, *gdwlh* (MT and

⁹⁰ D. N. Freedman, "The Masoretic Text and the Qumrân Scrolls," in *Textus: Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1962), II, 87-102.

⁹¹ Textual variants in fragments from Cave One are noted in Barthélemy and Milik, *DJD*, I, 50-62. The editors used von Gall's edition of SP in their collation. I have checked the references to SP in *DJD* against other Samaritan texts and noted certain instances where the *mater* is found, where it is not noted in von Gall or *DJD*.

⁹² References to fragments from Caves Two, Six, and Eight are from Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux, *DJD*, III, 49-52, 56-62, 105-107, 147-148.

SP=*gdh*); 12:34, *mš²rwtm* (with some mss. of SP, MT=*mš²rtm.*), *šrwrt* (MT=*šrrt*; SP=*šrrwt*); 26:11, *bl²wt* (with SP, MT=*bl²t*); 26:12, *h²whl*, with the *waw* written above the word (MT and SP=*h²hl*); 30:25, *qwdš* (MT and SP=*qdš*), *rwqh* (MT and SP=*rqh*).

2Q 5 (Leviticus): 11:26, *hnwgc* (so one ms. of SP; MT=*hng^c*).

2Q 7 (Numbers, second specimen): 33:52, *ywšby* (so some mss. of SP; MT=*yšby*).

2Q 10 (Deuteronomy, first specimen): 1:8, *l²bwtym* (MT and SP=*l²btykm*); *w²wmr* (MT and SP=*w²mr*).

2Q 11 (Deuteronomy, second specimen): 17:14, *nwtm* (MT and SP=*ntm*), *sbybwt* (with SP, MT=*sbybt*).

2Q 12 (Deuteronomy, third specimen): 10:8, *wl^cmwd* (MT and SP=*l^cmd*); 10:11, *wy^wmr* (MT and SP=*wy²mr*).

4Q Ex^a:93 32:12, *²wtm* (MT and SP=*²tm*); 32:13, *l^cwlm* (with SP, MT=*l^clm*); 32:15, *lwht* (with SP, MT=*lht*); 32:26, *wy^wmr* (MT and SP=*wy²mr*); 32:30, *gdwlh* (MT and SP=*gdh*).

4Q Ex^a:94 1:1, *y^cqwb* (MT and SP=*y^cqb*); 1:2, *zwbwn* (MT and SP=*zwbwn*).

6Q 1 (Genesis): 6:20, *lmynym* (with SP, MT=*lmynhm*).

6Q 2 (Leviticus): 8:12, *rw²š* (MT and SP=*r²š*); 8:13, *ktnwt* (with SP, although some Samaritan mss. have *kytnwt*, MT=*ktnt*).

8Q 1 (Genesis): 18:25, *m^cšwt* (with SP, MT=*m^cšt*).

A fragment of Exodus 6:26–7:4:⁹⁵ 6:27, *w²hrwn* (MT and SP=*w²hrn*); 6:29, *l²mwr* (MT and SP=*l²mr*); 6:30, *dwbr* (MT and SP=*dbr*).

In addition to exhibiting *plene* forms which sometimes occur, albeit less frequently, in MT, the Qumrân texts also give full readings which are not found at all in MT. These are of two types: forms which do not in fact occur in MT but which are quite feasible

⁹³ P. W. Skehan, "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumrân," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 182–187.

⁹⁴ Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, pp. 184–185.

⁹⁵ Birnbaum, *Hebrew Scripts*, no. 32.

according to the principles of Masoretic Hebrew, and forms which do not occur in MT and which cannot occur there according to the grammatical principles it recognizes. (It has been observed that forms which violate the principles of Masoretic Hebrew are also found in SP.) These forms include the use of the *mater* for short vowels: for example, *bwšrh* in 1Q Is^a lii, 14 (MT = *bošrâ*, with the *qāmēš* for short *o* in a closed syllable) and *šwlhn* in 1Q Is^a lii, 14 (MT = *šulhān*, with the *qibbūš* for the short *u*). In a number of cases, the *mater waw* has been retained in words to which suffixes and terminations have been added, where the vowel would be reduced in Masoretic Hebrew and the *mater* not employed. The similarity of this linguistic tradition to Samaritan Hebrew is indicated in forms which suggest a predominate penultimate stress: *yqṭwlw* for the third person plural imperfect form of the strong verb (MT = *yiqṭēlū*). This phenomenon is found frequently in 1Q Is^a and 1Q M. It is lacking in 1Q Is^b.⁹⁶ The so-called unusual forms include also the nominal formations *qwṭl*, *qṭwl*, and *qwṭwl*, with corresponding segholate forms in MT which either have no *o/u* vowel, or an *o/u* vowel in reverse order from their equivalents in the scrolls.⁹⁷

The use of ³*alef* for final *ā*, which was developed extensively in Aramaic, is found also in the Hebrew of the Hasmonaean period. It occurs frequently in 1Q Is^a (so, for example, the fem. sing. suffix in ³*lyh*², liii, 27; ³*lyh*², xxviii, 11; and *wm*³*šylyh*, xxxiv, 12).⁹⁸ The ³*alef* also appears in medial position for the *ā* vowel (see, for example,

⁹⁶ See F. W. Bush, "Evidence from Milhamah and the Masoretic Text for a Penultimate Accent in Hebrew Verbal Forms," *RQ*, 2 (1960), 501-514; Zcv Ben-Hayyim, "Traditions in the Hebrew Language with Special Reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin, eds., *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana, vol. IV, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1958), pp. 200-213.

⁹⁷ These may be the result of Aramaic influence. See Millar Burrows, "Orthography, Morphology, and Syntax of the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll," *JBL*, 68 (1949), 205; G. R. Driver, "New Hebrew Manuscripts," *JQR*, 40 (1950), 359-372; M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Linguistic Structure and Tradition in the Qumrān Documents," in Rabin and Yadin, *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 126.

⁹⁸ Burrows, "Orthography, Morphology, and Syntax," p. 201.

y'twm in 1Q Is^a i, 20; *y'kh*, xxv, 18; and *k'l'ywt*, xxviii, 6). In a few cases, the ³*alef* is used where MT has an *ē* vowel (for example, *wn'lkh*, 1Q Is^a ii, 10; *ʿwʿr*, xxxvi, 16). As has been noted, this phenomenon is found also in SP.

The Hasmonaeen texts also exhibit the fuller orthography of pronouns and suffixes, with the use of the final *mater he* in the second and third person plural masculine pronouns and suffixes and the third person singular pronouns. The use of the *mater he* in the second person plural pronouns and suffixes is not found in MT. The pronunciation represented by the longer orthography apparently passed out of use among the Jews in the early centuries of the Christian era, for it is not found in the second column of the Hexapla. The pronunciation is preserved, however, in the Samaritan Hebrew, even though the shorter orthography is followed in Samaritan practice.⁹⁹ The use of the final *mater he* for the third person singular pronouns (*hwʿh* and *hyʿh*) indicates a survival of the older bisyllabic pronunciation which also passed out of existence in the standardization of Masoretic Hebrew.¹⁰⁰

The use of the final *he* in the second person masculine singular suffix (*-kâ*) is also found in the Hasmonaeen texts. This is in agreement with the vocalization of MT, but not with the orthography. Samaritan Hebrew does not bear witness to the longer form. Prior to the discovery of the scrolls, Kahle had suggested that the Masoretes introduced the final vocalization under the influence of Arabic. In support of his thesis, he cited Hexaplaric materials and Samaritan Hebrew.¹⁰¹ It is now apparent, however, that the vocaliza-

⁹⁹ See Paul Kahle, *Die Hebräische Handschriften aus der Höhle* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961), pp. 40-52.

¹⁰⁰ See the remarks on the linguistic development of the third person masculine singular pronoun in P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, vol. I; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957), p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Kahle's thesis is developed in a number of his writings. The fullest statement (including revision in the light of the Qumrân materials) is found in his *Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), pp. 153-164. Kahle holds that the Masoretes introduced new vowel sounds to safeguard the newly established

tion was not a late development or innovation of the Masoretes. It may be said that the vocalization reflects the longer form, of which we now have textual evidence, while the consonantal text represents the older shorter form.¹⁰² The same can be said for the second person singular masculine perfect form *qāṭaltā* and the third person singular feminine suffix *-ha*. The second and third persons plural feminine forms of the imperfect usually preserve the longer orthography (so, *tiqṭōlnā*). The shorter forms do appear, however, especially in the Pentateuch.¹⁰³

From these texts it is clear that the main movement of Hebrew orthography had been toward the full use of *matres lectionis* and the use of the final *he* in pronouns and suffixes until the Hasmonaean period when these phenomena were most fully developed. Even so, the older, more conservative orthographic practice survived in some quarters, as can be seen from 1Q Is^b, which has the restrictive use of internal *matres*, as well as the shorter forms of the suffixes. It is now evident that a textual tradition of which the shorter orthography was characteristic was followed in the standardization of the Pentateuchal text, whereas texts with the fuller orthography were used in the stabilization of the text of some works of the Hagiographa (such as Chronicles).

Conclusions

In its major characteristics, the orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch agrees with the Hebrew orthography of the Hasmonaean period, against the less developed orthography of the pre-Maccaean period, and against the shorter orthography preserved in the

pronunciation of the laryngals (following the Arabic), introduced a number of final vowels, and brought about a double pronunciation of the *bgdkpt* letters (under the influence of Syriac). *Ibid.*, pp. 184–188.

¹⁰² On this, see Cross and Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, p. 66.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

Pentateuch of the Masoretic text. An exception to this is the shorter orthography of pronouns and suffixes. In Samaritan practice, the *he* is not used as a *mater* in the second person masculine singular suffix, nor is a final *a* pronounced. Although there are other points of similarity between the writing practices of the Hasmonaeen texts and the Samaritan Pentateuch (for example, the use of the laryngals¹⁰⁴), it is basically in the full use of the internal matres *waw* and *yod* that the Samaritan orthography reveals its descent from the orthographic tradition of the Hasmonaeen period.¹⁰⁵

In no way can the orthography of the Samaritan text be construed (as does Gesenius) as a representation of a later medieval orthographic tradition. The orthographic principles followed in the Samaritan recension are those which were regnant in the Hasmonaeen era. This orthography was not characteristic of an earlier period, and it was not characteristic (at least not in the Pentateuch) of the stabilized text of the Bible following the first century A.D. Medieval texts of the Masoretic tradition exhibiting fuller forms are essentially variants of a restrictive orthography. The small number

¹⁰⁴ The behavior of the laryngals in Samaritan Hebrew and in the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch corresponds remarkably with their behavior in the Hasmonaeen texts: for example, the occasional interchange of one laryngal with another, the omission or assimilation of laryngals, the transposition of a laryngal with a *mater*, etc. While I am prepared to argue that this correspondence is due to more than coincidence (that is, what is found here is the survival of a practice from the Hasmonaeen period comparable to the orthographic practice), I have not introduced this material into the body of the text at this point because it does not represent an orthographic consideration *per se*.

¹⁰⁵ It has been necessary to make certain observations about the similarities between the morphology and linguistic tradition of Samaritan Hebrew and forms in the Hasmonaeen texts. These have been introduced at points where they relate to orthographic considerations and where they could scarcely be ignored. I have resisted the temptation to separate these remarks and treat them independently as a collateral witness to the Hasmonaeen date of the Samaritan sectarian recension. It is still not clear what modifications were made in the development of the Samaritan text to accommodate the Samaritan linguistic tradition, and the history of that linguistic tradition is itself a matter of dispute (as may be seen in comparing the work of Kahle and Murtonen with the work of Ben-Ḥayyim). See Introduction, n. 4.

of medieval texts at variance with the Masoretic textual tradition and orthography do not indicate a survival of older non-Masoretic, or pre-Masoretic, text types after the stabilization of the biblical text, as some have maintained.¹⁰⁶ As F. M. Cross has noted, "Medieval variants are for the most part orthographic or secondary, a witness to subsequent development of variant readings which for a number of reasons may coincide with the older witnesses."¹⁰⁷ The fact of the stabilization of the biblical text in the archetype of the Masoretic text is now firmly established by the Murabba'ât texts.¹⁰⁸ The tendency toward stabilization is to be seen also in the revision of the Old Greek text of the Minor Prophets to conform to the precursor of the traditional text, perhaps as early as the second half of the first century A.D., in Barthélemy's recension (R.)¹⁰⁹

III. The Textual Tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch

The Samaritan Pentateuch is a sectarian redaction of a biblical text type which is now known from extra-Samaritan sources. The text used by the Samaritans (the so-called proto-Samaritan) was one of three textual traditions in use during the Hasmonaeen period.¹¹⁰ The other two traditions were the proto-LXX, the text type which was the *Vorlage* of the Greek translation, and the proto-MT, the text type which became standard in Jewish usage and which is preserved in

¹⁰⁶ Notably, Kahle in the first ed. of the *Cairo Geniza* (Schweich Lectures, 1941, London, British Academy, 1947). After him, see Roberts, *Old Testament Texts and Versions*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁷ F. M. Cross, Jr., "History of the Biblical Text," *HTR*, 57 (1964), 288.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 282. For a sketch of the stages of recensional activity of the Greek text, see pp. 295-296.

¹¹⁰ On the proto-Samaritan text at Qumrân, see Skehan, "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumrân"; F. M. Cross, Jr., "Report on the Biblical Fragments of Cave Four in Wâdî Qumrân," *BASOR*, 141 (1956), 9-13; and Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, pp. 186, 192-193.

the Masoretic text.¹¹¹ The textual tradition preserved in SP was rejected by the Rabbis for the Pentateuch, although similar text types appear to have been accepted for some books in the Latter Prophets and the Hagiographa.¹¹²

Before an attempt is made to define the relationship of the proto-Samaritan text of the Pentateuch to the sectarian redaction, it is necessary to describe the character of the Samaritan Pentateuch and to sketch briefly the history of its interpretation.¹¹³ It will then be possible to make some observations on the relation of the proto-Samaritan to the proto-LXX and the proto-MT, and, finally, on the relation of the proto-Samaritan to the sectarian redaction of the Samaritans, in the light of the newly discovered materials from Qumrân.

In its present state, SP differs from MT in a number of details. These textual distinctions ought not to obscure the fact that SP is closer to MT than it is to the LXX. A number of the variants of SP from MT are orthographic and linguistic. Substantial textual variants are frequently of a supplementary or expansionistic character. There are variants, however, which agree with the LXX against MT, as well as some variants which agree with other versions.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ The best general description of the state of the biblical text at Qumrân is given, with full bibliography, by Cross, in *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, pp. 168–187 and in "History of the Biblical Text." See most recently, Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," *IEJ*, 16 (1966), 81–95, and P. W. Skehan, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumrân and the Text of the Old Testament," *BA*, 28 (1965), 87–100.

¹¹² J. G. Janzen (in "Studies in the Text of Jeremiah," unpub. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965) has shown that the MT pluses in Jeremiah stem from an expansionist tendency similar to that found in the text type of SP. See Cross, "History of the Biblical Text," p. 287.

¹¹³ A new "prolegomena" to the Samaritan Pentateuch has now been prepared by Bruce K. Waltke. See his "Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch" (unpub. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965).

¹¹⁴ Observations on the distinctions between SP and MT were originally cited in the London Polyglot and have been enumerated in many subsequent studies. See B. Walton and E. Castell, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, vol. VI (London, 1657), parts IV, V. See also B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* (Oxford, 1776–1780), vols. I, II. Samaritan variants are catalogued in

The orthographic distinctions of SP have already been noted. The following phenomena can be considered linguistic or stylistic variants:¹¹⁵ The syndetic construction is found in SP in contrast to the more archaic asyndetic constructions of MT; the *imperfectum consecutivum* or pseudo-cohortative appears frequently, with the addition of the *he* to the imperative as well as to the imperfect; there is a preponderance of *ʿl* over *ʔl*, and similar interchanges of laryngals; the *hiphʿil* stem of the verb is sometimes preferred to the *qal*; there is a tendency either to disregard collective forms in favor of plurals, or to combine collective forms with plural verbs; there is a diminished frequency of the absolute infinitive for the imperative and adverbial qualifications; the third person singular pronouns are given the appropriate gender in SP, in agreement with the *qerê* of MT (but not with the consonantal text); finally, the apocopated forms of the *lamed he* verbs are sometimes rejected in favor of the longer forms.

There is a strong pleonastic tendency in the text of SP, seen in the number of redundancies of expansion or supplementation. The text of SP is, thus, a "full" text, just as the orthography is a full orthography. This can be seen, for example, in the narrative texts concerning Moses. When the text describes an activity of Moses, it is sometimes preceded by a statement indicating that Moses acted in response to a Divine command. Also, when a command of God is recorded, the narration attempts to describe the way in which Moses

a number of the older biblical dictionaries and encyclopedias, many of which were dependent upon the criticism of Gesenius. See Ezra Abbot, "Samaritan Pentateuch," in H. B. Hackett, ed., *Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1872), IV, 2803-2817; B. Pick, "Samaritan Pentateuch," in J. McClintock and J. Strong, eds., *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* (New York, 1885), IX, 292-299. See also E. König, "Samaritan Pentateuch," in James Hastings, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1904), pp. 68-72. Many of the important variants (but not all) are listed in the critical apparatus of the third ed. of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. For a rather severe criticism of this apparatus, see H. M. Orlinsky, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, pp. 114-115.

¹¹⁵ See especially, Gerleman, *Synoptic Studies in the Old Testament*, pp. 15-19.

fulfilled the command, usually by repeating the details of the injunction in the subsequent narrative. Thus, in Exodus 7:18, 29; 8:19; 9:5, 19, Moses is commanded by God to go to Pharaoh and to speak in a certain manner. The Samaritan text describes the way in which Moses said exactly what he had been told to say. This unnecessary redundancy is lacking in MT. There are also portions of the narratives of the Pentateuch which presuppose certain incidents or speeches unrecorded in MT. In Exodus 14:12, the people murmur against Moses and repeat words they had already expressed while in Egypt. The only previous murmurings in MT are found in Exodus 5:21 and 6:9, but the exact words cited in 14:12 are not found in these verses in MT. SP, however, locates the saying in an expansion in 6:9. In a similar manner, the words of Moses in Deuteronomy 1:9–18 are related to Exodus 18:13–27 by a lengthy expansion following 18:24. The statement of Moses in Deuteronomy 1:6–8 is anticipated in Numbers 10:10 in SP; also the words of Deuteronomy 1:27–33 are anticipated in Numbers 13:33. Additionally, there are cases in which the account in Deuteronomy is supplemented by materials from Numbers (for example in Deuteronomy 2:7 and 10:6). The only comparable expansion in the Patriarchal narratives is found following Genesis 30:36, where the material in 31:11–13 is anticipated.

There is no reason to believe that these expansions or supplementations were the work of sectarian redaction. They were the result of the growth of a textual tradition whose development covered several centuries.¹¹⁶ The alterations of a sectarian nature in SP are quite obvious, however, and are clearly the result of redactional activity. These are generally well known. In SP, the Decalogue, in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5, includes a lengthy interpolation based on Deuteronomy 27:2, 3a, 4–7, and 11:30. Thus, the command to build an altar on Mt. Gerizim (according to the old Palestinian reading in 27:4 it is Gerizim rather than Ebal) was strengthened by making it

¹¹⁶ Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, p. 193; "History of the Biblical Text," p. 297.

part of the Ten Words of Moses. Also, in all twenty-one occurrences of the Deuteronomic phrase "the place which the Lord thy God will choose," SP reads "the place which the Lord thy God has chosen." The omission of the *yod*-prefix, changing the imperfect to a perfect, implies a reference to the Patriarchal traditions associated with Shechem.

The textual tradition of SP agrees with the LXX against MT in approximately 1,900 instances.¹¹⁷ Some of these are significant textual variants, but some are slight, such as the syndetic use of the *waw* in about two hundred cases in SP and LXX against MT's asyndetic construction. In some cases, the LXX agrees with some of the readings of SP. SP differs from both MT and LXX in the ages of the antediluvians given in the genealogy of Genesis 5:32 and the ages of the line of Shem given in Genesis 11:10–26.

The Samaritan Pentateuch first came to the attention of Western scholars in the seventeenth century, when Pietro della Valle purchased a manuscript and a Samaritan Aramaic Targum from a Samaritan in Damascus.¹¹⁸ The estimation of its value in textual criticism has varied considerably from that time to the present. The initial enthusiasm for the text is indicated in the fact that it was

¹¹⁷ Kahle, "Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," p. 408.

¹¹⁸ Since della Valle's purchase in 1616, Western libraries have acquired a great number of Samaritan manuscripts. See the listing in the prolegomena of von Gall's edition: *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, I, i–lxi. The following are catalogues of some of the more important collections: A. E. Harkavy, *Catalogue des Manuscrits hébreux et samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1866); *Opisaniye Samaritanskikh rukopisey khranyashchikhsya v Imper. Publichnoy Bibliotekye* (St. Petersburg, 1875). (The transliteration of this Russian work is that of L. A. Mayer, *Bibliography of the Samaritans*, Donald Broadribb, ed. *Supplements to Abr-Nahrain*, vol. I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 17. For an English summary, see J. W. Nutt, *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum*, Appendix 1: 'The Collection of Samaritan Manuscripts at St. Petersburg,' by A. Harkavy [London, 1874]); D. S. Sassoon, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library* (London, 1932); Edward Robertson, *Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vols. I–II (Manchester: The John Rylands Library, 1938–1962). (See Introduction, n. 6 above.) Ben-Zvi has published a descriptive list of forty copies of the Samaritan Torah in the Hebrew journal *Sinai* (*syny*), under the general title, "Treasures of Samaria" (*mgnzy šmrwn*) and the subtitle "Books

published in the Paris and London Polyglots.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, the criticism of the text suffered when it was brought into the general theological-critical discussion of the relative value of the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. At that time, Protestant scholars were intent on defending the value and authority of the Masoretic text on which Protestant translations of the Bible were based. Roman Catholic scholars, on the other hand, were defending the value of the Vulgate and the Septuagint. The fact that SP agreed with LXX in a limited number of readings caused the Samaritan text to be aligned with the LXX in the controversy. Thus the Roman Catholic scholars Morinus and Cappelus defended the text,¹²⁰ while their work, and the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, came under attack by the Protestant scholars de Muis and Hottinger.¹²¹ During the eighteenth century, the Roman Catholic Poncet argued for the antiquity of the Samaritan text.¹²² As a rule, the Samaritan text continued to be attacked by Protestants, although Kennicott favored a number of Samaritan readings.¹²³ In following the discussions of these scholars, one might

of Torah in Shechem" (*spry twrh bškm*). The article appears in four parts in vols. 10–14 (Jerusalem, 1942–1944): vol. 10, pp. 215–222; vol. 11, pp. 156–162; vol. 12, pp. 410–417; vol. 13, pp. 245–251, 308–316; vol. 14, pp. 17–20. (Each of the Hebrew volumes is supplied with a Roman numeral. For some reason, however, the Roman numerals do not correspond to the equivalent Hebrew numbers: for example, vol. 11 [Hebrew, *yod ʿalef*] is given the Roman numeral VI; vol. 14 [Hebrew, *yod dalet*] is given the Roman numeral VII.)

¹¹⁹ G. M. Le Jay, *Biblica, 1. Hebraica, 2. Samaritana, 3. Chaldaica, 4. Graeca, 5. Syriaca, 6. Latina, 7. Arabica* (Paris, 1629–1645); Walton and Castell, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*.

¹²⁰ J. Morinus, *Exercitationes ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum* (Paris, 1631); A. L. Cappelus, *Diatriba de veris et antiquis Hebraeorum literis* (Amsterdam, 1645).

¹²¹ Simeon de Muis, *Assertatio veritatis Hebraicae adversus J. Morini Exercitationes* (Paris, 1631); J. H. Hottinger, *Exercitationes Antimorinianae de Pentateucho Samaritano* (Zurich, 1644).

¹²² D. M. Poncet, *Nouveaux éclaircissements sur l'origine et le Pentateuque des Samaritains* (Paris, 1760).

¹²³ B. Kennicott, *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Considered: Dissertation the Second wherein the Samaritan Copy of the Pentateuch Is Vindicated* (Oxford, 1759).

be led to think that SP is in greater agreement with LXX than with MT. In fact, just the opposite is the case. After the discussion centered on the set of variants of SP in agreement with LXX it had a tendency to remain there.

In the early nineteenth century, the distinguished Orientalist W. Gesenius took up the question of the value of the Samaritan text, with the result that it ceased to be a live issue for some time. In *De Pentateuchi samaritani origini*, Gesenius contended that the Samaritan text is nothing more than a corrupt edition of the Pentateuch based on a relatively late Jewish textual tradition. He divided the Samaritan readings into eight categories: (1) emendations of a grammatical nature; (2) glosses in the text; (3) conjectural emendations to remove textual difficulties; (4) corrections based upon parallel passages; (5) expansions based upon parallel passages; (6) adjustments of chronologies; (7) Samaritan forms of words (including the unusual behavior of laryngals); and (8) sectarian readings based upon the theology and worship of the Samaritans.¹²⁴ With very few exceptions, he considered the Samaritan Pentateuch to be of little value for the discipline of textual criticism. The agreement of SP with LXX in some cases did present a problem to Gesenius. He concluded, however, that both LXX and SP were derived from Hebrew codices which differed from one another (and from the standard tradition preserved in MT), but that the greater number of variants were due to corruptions, corrections, and interpolations of a later date. Although Gesenius's work did not go unchallenged later in the century, his negative evaluation of the significance of the Samaritan text prevailed for some time.

About forty years later, Abraham Geiger took issue with Gesenius, suggesting that the Samaritan Pentateuch reflects an ancient Hebraic textual tradition. He noted that Rabbinic traditions point to the

¹²⁴ William Gesenius, *De pentateuchi samaritani origine, indole et auctoritate commentatio philologico-critica* (Halle, 1815). Gesenius' work was carried even further by Raphael Kirchheim, *karmē šōmrôn* (Frankfort, 1851). A summary of these two generally inaccessible works is given by Abbot in his article on the Samaritan Pentateuch (see n. 114, above).

existence of variant textual traditions which were rejected in the stabilization of the biblical text.¹²⁵ The Samaritan text ought to be understood as the survival of an ancient textual tradition, not as the development of a late Jewish text.

The greatest breakthrough in Old Testament textual criticism in the nineteenth century was made by Paul de Lagarde, although his work left much to be done on the Samaritan Pentateuch.¹²⁶ de Lagarde established, with a fair amount of certainty, that the great number of extant medieval manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible are descended from one basic textual tradition, although his case was overstated in the assertion that all of the texts were descended from one scroll. Prior to the stabilization of the text, which he dated at about A.D. 100, in the time of Rabbi Aqiba, the biblical text had been relatively fluid, with a certain amount of manuscript diversity. In modern textual reconstruction, therefore, the most valuable witnesses to the earliest text would be those texts which escaped Rabbinic revision. The most obvious examples of these would be the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch. Following the work of de Lagarde, some attempts were made to determine the original form of the LXX.¹²⁷ This resulted in the classification of Greek manu-

¹²⁵ Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Breslau, 1857), pp. 97–100. See also "Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften," in *Nachgelassene Schriften*, 4 (1876), 54–67, 121–132.

¹²⁶ Paul de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig, 1863); *Septuaginta-Studien* (Göttingen, 1891). On the significance of de Lagarde's work, see H. M. Orlinsky, *On the Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1941); Roberts, *Old Testament Texts and Versions*, pp. 23–27; A. Rahlfs, *Paul de Lagarde's wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928).

¹²⁷ In addition to the works cited above, see H. M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint—Its Use in Textual Criticism," *BA*, 9 (1946), 22–34; "Current Progress and Problems in Septuagint Research," in H. R. Willoughby, ed., *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947); A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta Studien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1904–1911), vols. I–III; P. Katz, "Das Problem des Urtextes der Septuaginta," *TZ*, 4 (1949), 1–24; "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century," in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology: In Honor of Charles Harold Dodd* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 176–208.

scripts into families, and the establishment of criteria in reconstructing the proto-LXX. The Samaritan Pentateuch remained very much of a problem, for while it agreed in some respects with the LXX, it was closer to the MT and presented its own deviations from the received Hebrew text.

A greater appreciation of the value of the Samaritan Pentateuch in textual criticism came about in the first half of the twentieth century, largely through the contributions of Paul Kahle. Following the insights of Geiger rather than Gesenius, and attempting to move beyond de Lagarde, Kahle suggested that the Samaritan Pentateuch is a witness to a popular or "vulgar" pre-Masoretic textual tradition.¹²⁸ Kahle found attestations of comparable vulgar texts in quotations in the New Testament, in biblical readings in Philo, in citations in the Rabbinic and the pseudepigraphical literature, and in texts from the Cairo Geniza.¹²⁹ He explained the similarities of SP to LXX in the suggestion that the earliest Greek translations were based upon popular texts like that preserved in SP. He was able to explain the greater agreement of SP with MT by suggesting that the Samaritan text was revised at some early period to bring it into agreement with the text now represented by MT.¹³⁰ He also held that the LXX was itself a very thorough Christian revision of the Old Greek translation made by Jews.¹³¹ This last position represented a break from the work of scholars following de Lagarde because it called into question the very existence of the proto-LXX. It was said that, rather than preserving an early stage of the Hebrew text, the LXX represents a Christian Bible in Greek based upon Old Greek texts, but revised to conform with the developing standard Hebrew text! Further revisions of the Greek Bible by both Christians and Jews can be seen in the work of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. Kahle also took a negative view of the thesis that the

¹²⁸ Kahle, "Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," pp. 402-410.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* See also the first ed. of Kahle's *Cairo Geniza*, pp. 144-148.

¹³⁰ Kahle, "Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," p. 402.

¹³¹ This thesis is developed in the first ed. of Kahle, *Cairo Geniza*, pp. 132-179. See also the second ed., pp. 209-264.

standardization of the biblical text in the Rabbinic period caused alternative textual traditions to pass out of existence prior to the work of the Masoretes. With his negative criticism of the LXX, Kahle was able to assert that the Samaritan Pentateuch is one of the best witnesses of all extant traditions to the pre-Masoretic text of the Pentateuch.

The discovery of the proto-Samaritan textual tradition at Qumrân has proved that Kahle was correct in at least one respect: the text preserved in SP does represent an ancient, pre-Masoretic textual tradition; its variants from MT are not (as Gesenius thought) the result of later corruptions, corrections, and expansions. The discovery of the proto-LXX at Qumrân, however, indicates the need of radical revision of Kahle's understanding of the relative value of the ancient versions. The LXX is much more important than he thought in establishing the early Hebrew text. Moreover, the texts from Murabba'ât which agree with MT indicate that de Lagarde was correct in affirming that a standardization of the biblical text took place in the late first century A.D., in which the proto-MT was selected as the received text and other textual traditions rejected to fall out of circulation.¹³² The importance of the Samaritan Pentateuch in textual criticism does not rest upon the devaluation of the LXX!

The precise relationship of these textual traditions to one another prior to the selection of the proto-MT as an official text has yet to be accurately determined. Moshe Greenberg, following Kahle in a number of points, has suggested that texts existed during the Hasmonaean period in two main types: the fuller and the shorter.¹³³ The fuller were popular texts and the shorter were official texts. The former is represented in the proto-Samaritan; the latter is represented

¹³² On these texts, see P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *DJD*, vol. II: *Les Grottes de Murabba'ât* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

¹³³ Moshe Greenberg, "The Stabilization of the Text of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of the Biblical Materials from Qumrân," *JAOS*, 76 (1956), 157-167.

in the proto-MT. Greenberg suggested further that the official work of the Rabbis of the late first century A.D. was actually precipitated by the work of the scribes during the Hasmonaean period. In establishing an authoritative text, they selected the shorter text type with its orthography for the Pentateuch. This action did not entirely do away with the fuller text type, which survived in texts in use outside of official circles (hence, "vulgar" texts). The process of producing an official text probably took some time, so that the work was not actually completed until the first century A.D. In this way of looking at the problem, the proto-LXX is to be regarded as an intermediate stage between the shorter and the fuller text types.

The Kahle-Greenberg hypothesis of official/vulgar texts must be rejected, in spite of its seeming plausibility and in spite of the adeptness of its exposition. Greenberg's conclusions concerning the recensional activity which produced the official text are based upon the analogy of the work of Alexandrian scholars in producing the text of Homer.¹³⁴ The promulgation of an official text by the Rabbis appears to have followed a unique procedure, however, for which there is no analogy in the literature of antiquity.¹³⁵ Rather than proceeding by revision, emendation, and conflation, the Rabbis established an official text by selecting one distinct textual tradition and rejecting other competing traditions.¹³⁶ The tradition that they selected was the proto-MT. It would be anachronistic to refer to this tradition as "official" prior to its final establishment as such, or to refer to either the proto-LXX or the proto-Samaritan as "vulgar" prior to the time of their official rejection. Because the final and definitive work of producing an official text was not completed until the first century A.D., we are left with no reasonable basis

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹³⁵ See Cross, "History of the Biblical Text," pp. 288-289 and "Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," pp. 91-95.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

for designating any textual tradition extant during the Hasmonaean period as official or vulgar.¹³⁷

While the proto-MT, the proto-Samaritan, and the proto-LXX existed side by side during the Hasmonaean period in Palestine, it is hardly possible that these textual traditions came into being in one period of time and in one locale. They must have had the opportunity of developing independently of one another, and of developing over a considerable period of time. For this reason, it is advisable to speak of these basic textual traditions as regional or local texts (rather than official/vulgar texts) which were brought together in Palestine during the late Hasmonaean era. The procedural methodology of referring to local texts, rather than official/vulgar texts, was first employed by W. F. Albright.¹³⁸ The investigation along these lines has been further developed by F. M. Cross, Jr.¹³⁹ It is along such lines that the relationship of the proto-MT, the proto-LXX, and the proto-Samaritan textual traditions can best be explained.

The proto-Samaritan can be understood as a Palestinian text type descended from an Old Palestinian textual tradition. The earliest witness to this Old Palestinian tradition is to be found in those sections of I Chronicles 1-9 which preserve Pentateuchal passages in parallel transmission. As might be expected, these passages exhibit a greater similarity to the Samaritan text than they do to the Masoretic, which is a non-Palestinian text type.¹⁴⁰ The Palestin-

¹³⁷ Cross's unequivocal comments on the anachronistic use of official/vulgar designations are so conclusive as to terminate the use of "vulgar" in descriptions of the state of the biblical text during the Hasmonaean period. See Cross, "History of the Biblical Text," pp. 298-299, and "Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," pp. 91-93.

¹³⁸ W. F. Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR*, 140 (1955), 27-33.

¹³⁹ Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, pp. 188-192; "History of the Biblical Text," pp. 297-299; "Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," pp. 81-95.

¹⁴⁰ See Gerleman, *Synoptic Studies in the Old Testament*, pp. 9-12. Gerleman's explanation of these readings follows the now antiquated "official/vulgar" interpretation (after Kahle).

ian character of the proto-Samaritan is also indicated by its survival in the palaeo-Hebrew script (in 4Q Ex^a)—the old national script of Palestine. The proto-Samaritan exhibits the development of the Palestinian text type from the fifth to the second centuries B.C.

The proto-LXX of the Pentateuch can be designated an Egyptian local text, since this part of the Septuagint was translated in Alexandria. Albright has contended, on the basis of Egyptian influence evident in the *Vorlage* of the LXX, that the Pentateuchal text used by the Greek translators had undergone a recension in Egypt in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.¹⁴¹ The textual tradition from which the Egyptian text type was derived was the Old Palestinian. This can be seen in the agreement of the proto-LXX with the Old Palestinian tradition against the proto-MT in some texts from Qumrân (especially in the readings in agreement with the Lucianic or proto-Lucianic tradition of the LXX). Cross has noted that 4Q Sam^a, which agrees more with the LXX than with MT, shows a remarkable similarity to the text of Chronicles.¹⁴² This would indicate, in the case of Samuel, that the Egyptian textual tradition branched off from the Old Palestinian no earlier than the fourth and no later than the third century B.C.

The relationship of the Egyptian text to the Old Palestinian tradition accounts for the occasional agreement of SP and LXX against MT. These agreements can be traced to the Old Palestinian tradition from which the proto-Samaritan developed, and from which the proto-LXX diverged at an earlier time. The fact that the proto-Samaritan underwent its own development explains the fuller readings of the proto-Samaritan and SP which are not found in LXX. Such a development must have taken some time. The greater agreement of SP with MT against LXX is a phenomenon which

¹⁴¹ Albright, "New Light on the Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," pp. 27-33.

¹⁴² Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, p. 188-190; Cross, "History of the Biblical Text," pp. 293-294.

also demands explanation, and is a problem to which we shall return.

The proto-MT, which does not agree with the proto-Samaritan or the proto-LXX, must have developed independently of and in geographical isolation from the Egyptian and Palestinian traditions. It could not have developed in Palestine; if it had, it certainly would have been influenced by the Old Palestinian tradition or by the proto-Samaritan which developed from that tradition. The most obvious provenience for a textual tradition which could not have developed in Palestine or in Egypt would be Babylonia. This has been argued by Cross and seems most likely.¹⁴³ This textual tradition could not have been introduced into Palestine any earlier than the Hasmonaean period. Indeed, the influx of diaspora Jews into Palestine during the late Hasmonaean periods would suggest that it was about this time that the Babylonian text was introduced into the Palestinian scene.¹⁴⁴ The destruction of Biblical manuscripts in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (I Maccabees 1:56-57) would have created a need for texts, and would have led to later scribal activity.¹⁴⁵ Thus it was that during the late Hasmonaean and early Herodian periods a number of textual traditions of distinct development—Palestinian, Egyptian, and Babylonian—came together in one general locale. These could not have existed concurrently for any great length of time, and not long after their coming together some attempts at recensional activity were of necessity made.

Although the problems of the relation of the proto-LXX to the proto-MT and the development of the recensions of the Greek Bible may not appear to be of immediate concern for our investigation of the Samaritan Pentateuch, they are of importance for the history of

¹⁴³ Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, p. 192; Cross, "History of the Biblical Text," pp. 297-298. So, too, Skehan, "Biblical Scrolls from Qumrân and the Text of the Old Testament," p. 97.

¹⁴⁴ Or perhaps even the early Herodian period. See Cross, "History of the Biblical Text," p. 297.

¹⁴⁵ See I Maccabees 2:14, where Judas is credited with gathering together a number of texts after the Antiochan persecutions.

the biblical text in the period with which we are concerned.¹⁴⁶ From the materials now available, it is evident that the Greek text of the Bible underwent various recensions to bring it into line with the Hebrew text. The first of these, examples of which are to be found in Samuel, can be called proto-Lucianic. 4Q Sam^a has readings which agree with the Lucianic recension of LXX against MT, and also readings which agree with the Old Palestinian tradition in the Chronicler. It is evident that the proto-Lucianic recension (preserved in the Greek minuscules b o c₂ e₂, in the biblical citations in Josephus, and in the sixth column of the Hexapla) was revised to conform with the Palestinian textual tradition. A date in the second or first centuries B.C. can be offered for this recensional activity.¹⁴⁷ A later stage of development is represented in the so-called *kaige* recension preserved in Barthélemy's Greek text of the Minor Prophets and in the Greek of Samuel-Kings, formerly designated proto-Theodotion by Thackeray.¹⁴⁸ This recensional activity can be dated to the first half of the first century A.D. at the latest, and perhaps as early as the mid-first century B.C. It represents a revision to conform with the proto-MT. A yet later stage of development is represented by the recension of Aquila in the second century A.D. to conform with the now official Hebrew text, the prototype of MT.

The presence of proto-Lucianic readings in a Numbers text from Cave four, which also includes proto-Samaritan readings, contributes to our understanding of the Palestinian tradition, and also has some implications which must be considered in the problem of the relation of the proto-Samaritan to SP.¹⁴⁹ 4Q Numbers is a Herodian manuscript which is extensively preserved. It regularly follows the expansions characteristic of the proto-Samaritan, but usually agrees with

¹⁴⁶ Here I follow Cross, in "History of the Biblical Text," based upon the text of Samuel.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283, 296.

¹⁴⁹ On 4Q Numbers, see Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, p. 186; Cross, "History of the Biblical Text," pp. 287, 297. The text is also discussed in the newsletter of the Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, Biblical and Archaeological School, Jerusalem, December 1, 1963.

the LXX in those cases where SP and MT agree against the Greek. For example, in the section between 12:6 and 19:3, 4Q Numbers agrees with LXX thirteen times against MT and SP, and with MT two times against SP and LXX. The text is of the Old Palestinian tradition, as is evident from its proto-Lucianic readings in a number of cases where it agrees with LXX, and from its inclusion of proto-Samaritan materials. Its agreement with the LXX can not be explained as a mixing of the Palestinian tradition and the Egyptian tradition, in the light of its agreement with LXX minuses—which indicate that it is not a conflate text—and its omission of LXX pluses. Somehow, this Old Palestinian tradition survived into the Herodian period.

The agreement of the Palestinian text of 4Q Numbers with the LXX against MT and SP indicates that while SP may be based on the Palestinian tradition of the proto-Samaritan, it has also been influenced by the Babylonian tradition (the proto-MT). This should have been obvious, however, for SP exhibits a greater agreement with MT than it does with LXX. The occasional agreement of SP with LXX against MT can be readily explained by the common descent of the proto-Samaritan and the proto-LXX from the Old Palestinian text. But how is one to explain the greater agreement of SP with MT against LXX? Surely the readings of LXX which do not agree with MT or SP, where the two concur, can not be explained entirely by the independent development of the proto-LXX, for 4Q Numbers indicates that many of the LXX readings (especially in the proto-Lucianic recension) are derived from the Old Palestinian tradition. One can only conclude that SP has been influenced by the proto-MT.

We are now in a position to evaluate the sectarian recension of the Pentateuch by the Samaritans. When the final break between the Shechemites and the Jews was consummated, the Samaritans took as the basis of their biblical text the proto-Samaritan tradition, a Palestinian text type preserved in the palaeo-Hebrew script. The proto-Samaritan had been in process of development from the Old

Palestinian textual tradition from the fifth to the second centuries B.C., when it reached its fullest stage of development during the Hasmonaeen era. Hebrew orthography also reached its fullest stage of development at this time, and the comparable phenomena of full text and full orthography may be due to more than coincidence. For their sectarian recension, the Samaritans selected the full text of the proto-Samaritan tradition and the full orthography in vogue at that time.

The influence of the non-Palestinian Babylonian text of the proto-MT upon the Samaritan recension also helps us to date this sectarian activity. Because the Babylonian text was introduced into Palestine at a comparatively late date (late Hasmonaeen), it could not have influenced the proto-Samaritan text or the Samaritan recension at any earlier time. The Pentateuch of the Samaritans could have undergone its sectarian redaction no earlier than the first century B.C.

It is also possible that the proto-MT continued to influence the Samaritan text in some ways even after the official promulgation of the Samaritan text. When the proto-MT of the Pentateuch was selected by the Rabbis in the late first century A.D. as the official Jewish text, and the Palestinian and Egyptian traditions rejected, along with palaeo-Hebrew as a book hand,¹⁵⁰ the Samaritans

¹⁵⁰ The Rabbinic traditions which suggest that the palaeo-Hebrew was rejected in favor of the Jewish script (inaccurately designated "Assyrian") in the time of Ezra must now be revised in the light of the Qumrân materials. The palaeo-Hebrew continued to be used as a script for biblical texts long after the time of Ezra. The reason for its official rejection is probably to be found in the fact that the proto-MT (of Babylonian provenience) would not have been preserved in this old national script. The official acceptance of the Babylonian text brought about not only a rejection of the Palestinian text (for the Pentateuch), but also a rejection of the old script in which the Palestinian text was sometimes preserved. See Cross, "History of the Biblical Text," p. 298. It may be possible that the school of Hillel was instrumental in the rejection of the old script. The career of Hillel is sometimes compared to the career of Ezra in Rabbinic tradition. See the statement in *Sukká* 20a: "When Torah was forgotten in Israel Ezra restored it; when it was forgotten again, Hillel came from Babylonia and restored it again." The analogous careers of these two men could account for possible confusion as to the precise time when this official action was taken.

would have had every reason to defend their text and script against the Jewish text and script. This would have exerted an inhibiting force upon revisions of SP from the archetype of the Masoretic text. Indeed, Kahle has suggested, on the basis of the *Vorlage* of the *Samareitikon*, that by the second century A.D. the Samaritan text was essentially what it is today.¹⁵¹ There were, none the less, other factors in the Samaritan community which might have made textual revision in accordance with the Jewish text a possibility. Samaritan chronicles indicate that there was a Samaritan diaspora in Babylonia which contributed to the life of the parent community.¹⁵² If this was the case, the state of the biblical text in the Jewish communities in Babylonia could have contributed to the revision of the Samaritan text in the diaspora or, with the return of these Samaritans, in Shechem itself. The Samaritan chronicles also indicate that the controversies created in the Samaritan community by the Dositheans involved discrepancies in the biblical text as it was received by the Samaritans. Although the extent of these discrepancies is not known, we are at least given some hint that there was a need for the further stabilization of the biblical text by the Samaritans in the first century A.D.¹⁵³

Conclusions

From the materials examined above it is evident that the Samaritan Pentateuch underwent a sectarian redaction during the age of the

¹⁵¹ Kahle, "Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," p. 402. See also B. Waltke, "Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch," p. 132.

¹⁵² See Chapter Two, n. 56.

¹⁵³ See Adler and Séligsohn, "Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine," *REJ*, 45 (1902), 227. Although there were a number of Dosithean movements among the Samaritans, the most important of these appears to date from the first century A.D. The Samaritan chronicles agree with patristic sources in making Dositheus a contemporary of Simon Magus (although they also make him a contemporary of Marqah!).

Hasmonaeans: its script has developed from the palaeo-Hebrew of this period; its orthography is the standard full orthography of this time; the textual tradition it represents is not only known from this time, but completed the development of its characteristics during the Hasmonaeon period.

CHAPTER TWO

The Origin of the Samaritan Sect

I. Pre-exilic Origins?

Any consideration of Samaritan origins must take into account both the Samaritan and the Jewish claims that the sect had its origins in the pre-exilic period. The Samaritans maintain that their movement has existed from the very beginning of Hebrew history, and that they did not separate themselves from Judaism. Rather than regarding themselves as Jewish schismatics, they claim that Judaism came into existence as the result of a schism that occurred in their ranks in the time of Eli. It was Eli, they say, who withdrew from Shechem to establish a rival cultus at Shiloh.¹ Judaism is an extension of Eli's

¹ This is the only schism the Samaritans know! Eli desired to be high priest of the cultus at Shechem. He was, however, of the wrong family (Ithamar rather than Eleazar). The legitimate successor to this office was Uzzi. When Eli withdrew to establish a rival and illegitimate cultus at Shiloh, God's displeasure was so great that he hid the tabernacle and its furnishings in a cave on Mt. Gerizim. This initiated the age of divine wrath—the *Pānūtā*. The former age of grace—the *Rāhūtā*—will be restored with the coming of the Samaritan eschatological Prophet—the *Tāheb*. For the Samaritan tradition concerning the Eli schism, see T. G. Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum, arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est Liber Josuae* (Leiden, 1848), pp. 180–181; Edward Vilmar, *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani* (Gotha, 1856), pp. 38–39; E. N. Adler and M. Séligsohn, "Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine," *REJ*, 44 (1902), 205–206. A Samaritan treatise in the Gaster collection deals with the Eli schism and subsequent events (see Edward Robertson, *Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. II: *The Gaster Manuscripts*, Manchester: John Rylands Library, 1962, col. 142).

heresy, through Samuel, Saul, David, and the Judæan monarchy, with the rival cultus shifting from Shiloh to Jerusalem; Samaritanism is a perpetuation of the true old Israelite faith. Certain Jewish traditions, on the other hand, have contended that Samaritanism came into being as the result of the settlement of Mesopotamian colonists in Samaria in the late eighth century B.C.² These two divergent positions, representing sectarian apologetic and antisectarian polemic, agree in at least one point—Samaritanism had its origin in the pre-exilic era. On the one hand, the legitimacy of the sect's status is maintained; on the other hand it is denied.

If the solution of the problem were such a simple matter that it could be resolved by deciding upon one of these positions against the other, the apparent orthodox character of Samaritanism would seem to favor the sectarian position. Anyone who knows Samaritanism from its own literature, as well as from what is actually revealed of it in the New Testament and in Rabbinic literature, is aware that it is not a heterogeneous semipagan religion. For this reason, and also to correct the strongly negative evaluation of certain Jewish traditions, some of the most able expositors of Samaritan thought have stressed the veracity of many of the Samaritan traditions concerning their early history.³ But the matter is not

² II Kings 17:24–41. The Samaritans are known as the *Kūtlm* in the Rabbinic traditions (from *Kūtlā*, II Kings 17:24). In addition to the numerous references to the *Kūtlm* in Rabbinic literature, the sectarians are the subject of a small extra-Talmudic treatise: *Kūtlm*. On this, see James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect: Their History, Theology and Literature* (Philadelphia: J. C. Winston, 1907), pp. 196–203; L. Gulkowitch, "Der kleine Talmudtraktat über die Samariter," *Angelos*, 1 (1925), 48–56. For significant references to the Samaritans in the Mishnah, see *B'rākōt* 7:1; 8:8; *D'mai* 3:4; 5:9; 6:1; 7:4; *Š'bi'it* 8:10; *T'rāmōt* 3:9; *Š'qālim* 1:5; *Rōš Haššanā* 2:2; *K'tubbōt* 3:1; *N'dārim* 3:10; *Gifšin* 1:5; *Qiddūšin* 4:1; *Niddā* 4:1,2. In *Qiddūšin* 75a the Samaritans are called "lion-converts" (from II Kings 17:25–33).

³ This is true of the treatment of Moses Gaster, in *The Samaritans: Their History, Doctrine and Literature* (Schweich Lectures, 1923, London: The British Academy, 1925), and it is especially true of the evaluation of John MacDonald, in *The Theology of the Samaritans* (New Testament Library, London: S C M Press, 1964), pp. 15–21.

as simple as this. Although Samaritan traditions may preserve some legitimate elements of northern Israelite religion, folklore, and history, these traditions were developed and assembled at a very late date for the apologetic purposes of the sect.⁴ It was their purpose to

⁴ It is difficult to assess the antiquity of Samaritan traditions because they are preserved in the literature of a living sect. While major theological and historical writings may be ascribed to certain individuals, and can be dated, the Samaritan authors frequently make use of older traditions and materials. This is especially true of chronological texts. It is evident that the later chronicles make use of the earlier chronicles. Often a historical work will be brought up to date by a later writer, and the period treated by a particular chronicle will vary from manuscript to manuscript. The following is a brief catalogue of the principal Samaritan chronological-historical texts: (1) *The Tōliddā* is the work of Eleazar ben Amram of the twelfth century. It is sometimes called *Chronicle Neubauer*, after the scholar who first published the text. See Adolf Neubauer, "Chronique samaritaine," *Journal Asiatique*, 6th series, 14 (1869), 385-470. See also, John Bowman, *Transcript of the Original Text of the Samaritan Chronicle Tōliddā* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1955). (2) *The Book of Joshua* was written in Arabic in the thirteenth century, although it is based on a much older work. It has been published by Juynboll (see note 1 above). (3) *The Šalšelet*, or "Chain (of high priests)" was written in the fourteenth century. The text has been published by Moses Gaster, "The Chain of Samaritan High Priests," *JRAS* (1909), 393-420. See also Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* (London: Maggs Bros., 1925-1928), I, 483-502; III, 131-138. (4) *The Chronicle of Abu'l Fath* was written in Arabic in the fourteenth century. It has been published by Vilmar (see n. 1 above). An English translation of Abu'l Fath was begun, but not completed, by R. Payne Smith, "The Samaritan Chronicle of Abu'l Fatah, the Arabic Text from the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library with a Literal English Translation," in M. Heidenheim, ed., *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für englisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik* (Gotha, 1863), II, 303-333, 431-459. A Latin translation of the work was also promised by Vilmar, but it never materialized. (5) *Chronicle Adler* is a late chronicle (nineteenth century) written in Samaritan Hebrew. It makes extensive use of the earlier Arabic work of Abu'l Fath. See E. N. Adler and M. Seligsohn, "Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine," *REJ* 44 (1902), 188-222; 45 (1902), 70-98, 223-254; 46 (1903), 123-146. Another important work—more folkloristic and midrashic than historical—is the *ʿAsatir*. It covers the period from Adam to Moses. While it is undoubtedly an ancient work, it is scarcely as old as Moses Gaster suggested—third century B.C. The Aramaic text is given by Gaster in *The Asatir, the Samaritan Book of the Secrets of Moses* (Oriental Translation Fund, vol. 26, London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927). See also, Zev Ben-Hayyim, "The Book of Asatir," in *Tarbiš*, 14 (1943), 104-125, 174-190; 15 (1944), 71-87. The Samaritan Avraham Šadaqa (see Introduction n. 6) has also recently printed the text: *spr ʿsʿtyr* (Holon, 1966).

demonstrate that Samaritanism was not a late-comer in the history of Judaism and that it did not originate as a Jewish heresy.

From the Samaritan sectarian writings it is learned that Samaritanism has existed from the time of the settlement in Canaan to the present day! It has had an unbroken continuity in its priestly line and in its theological orthodoxy! It has always been distinguished from the religious aberrations of Jerusalem and Judaism! The Samaritans are aware, however, through their knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures, that the religious situation in the north during the pre-exilic period was far from ideal. But they have made every effort to disassociate themselves from the corrupt Yahwism extant in Samaria during that period. Indeed, they maintain that there were no less than four divisions of Israelites during this time. The first division was their own party, which was composed of the tribes of Joseph, which remained loyal to Gerizim and the priesthood of Uzzi after the Eli schism, as well as some Levites and Benjaminites associated with them. The second division was made up of Judahites and Benjaminites who proclaimed the sanctity of Jerusalem. The third division consisted of those Israelites who became idolators and who were centered around Pirathon in Ephraim. The fourth division was represented by the followers of Jeroboam who established Samaria as their center.⁵ The Samaritans thus claim that they were able to maintain religious purity because they stood aloof from other Israelites with whom they were only incidentally related culturally and politically. They were, however, given the opportunity of cultural leadership in the north when they were allowed to return from

John Macdonald has given notice of a previously unpublished Samaritan chronicle which he hopes to publish soon. See his *Theology of the Samaritans*, pp. 17-21, 44.

See also the chronological and historical texts in the Gaster collection: Robertson, *Catalogue of Samaritan Manuscripts*, vol. II, cols. 181-212.

⁵ See Abu'l Fath and Chronicle Adler: Vilmar, *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani*, p. 53; Adler and Séligsohn, "Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine," *REJ*, 44 (1902), 210.

exile and re-establish the traditional cultus on Mt. Gerizim. Samaritan historical traditions do not agree on the time or circumstances of their return. One tradition is similar to the Judaeian account of II Kings 17:25-28.⁶ Chronicle Adler knows of two returns, one under the high priest Seraiah (early seventh century) and another under the high priest Abdiel (late sixth century).⁷

To accept the Samaritan claim at face value would be extraordinarily naïve. We are confronted in this material with sectarian fiction rather than historical fact; with a rewriting of history in which both details and perspective have been adjusted to meet the needs of a sectarian community. One can not, of course, dismiss the possibility that Samaritan sources preserve a legitimate tradition concerning the independent survival of a priestly line tracing its authority to Phinehas through Uzzi. But this cannot be proved on the basis of Samaritan tradition alone. Indeed, there are no external data by which the Samaritan claim can be proved, and the burden of proof rests upon the Samaritans and upon those who argue for the essential reliability of their claim.

There is a good deal, however, that can be said against the Samaritan position. If Samaritanism is the surviving remnant of a religious movement whose essential character had already been formed in pre-exilic times, one would expect to find within it those characteristic elements of northern Israelite religion known from biblical and archaeological sources, that is, the syncretistic practices of the cult of Bethel and the open air sanctuaries, the curious type of Yahwism represented in the Elephantine literature, and the admixture of Yahwism and paganism reported in II Kings 17:24-41. The absence of such elements can hardly be explained by regarding the Samaritan community as a self-contained and hermetically sealed entity during the period of Israelite apostasy and syncretism. If Samaritanism represents "true"

⁶ See Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, pp. 182-183.

⁷ Adler and Séligsohn, "Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine," *REJ*, 44 (1902), 215, 218-220.

Israelite religion, it does so only in the extent to which it conforms to what it understands true Israelite religion (ideally) to have been. It does not represent Israelite religion as it actually was.⁸

This observation enables us to evaluate realistically the Samaritan claim that their movement developed independently of Judaeon influence. The standard by which Samaritanism judges itself to be a true Israelite (and non-Judaeon) religion is the Pentateuch. But the Pentateuch is essentially a Judaeon work. Although it is a composite of traditions which developed originally in both northern and southern Palestine, the center of the literary activity which brought this material together was Judaeon—beginning with the work of the Yahwists of Jerusalem and ending with the editorial work of the priests of the Judaeon diaspora. If Samaritanism took definitive shape in northern Palestine at an early period, why is its primary religious authority the Pentateuch whose final form and canonicity were established at a comparatively late date in Judaeon circles? This question has never been adequately answered to the satisfaction of the Samaritan position. The Samaritans, of course, maintain that their Pentateuch is Mosaic and that their text was copied by Abiṣa^c ben Phinehas shortly after the conquest of Canaan.⁹ But the contributions of Pentateuchal criticism do not support this position, and few would be ready to revise the higher criticism of the Pentateuch on the basis of the Samaritan claim.¹⁰ Recently, it has been

⁸ As against Macdonald, who maintains that Samaritanism is a development, modification, and expansion of the true old northern Israelite religion. See *Theology of the Samaritans*, p. 419.

⁹ The Samaritans claim to possess the very manuscript copied by Abiṣa^c ben Phinehas. The oldest portion of this manuscript (probably no older than the eleventh century A.D.) has been published by F. Pérez Castro, *Séfer Abiṣa^c* (Textos y Estudios del Seminario Filológico Cardenal Cisneros; Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1959).

¹⁰ The only one to have seriously considered the Samaritan claim (in the post-Wellhausen attempts to restructure the Pentateuchal problem) has been Edward Robertson. See, for example, Edward Robertson, *The Old Testament Problem* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1950), pp. 50, 189–190. While Robertson's efforts were brilliant, and often helpful, he has not had a wide following.

suggested that the Samaritan theologian Marqah (fourth century A.D.) exhibits a strong dependence upon the Elohist Pentateuchal traditions and that this can be explained by the old Israelite rootage of Samaritanism.¹¹ In fact, Marqah treats all elements of the Pentateuchal tradition in his *Book of Wonders* (the *Memar Marqah*)—Yahwistic, Elohist, Priestly, and Deuteronomic; he knows of no special sanctity surrounding what today is designated as E material. He does sometimes follow the so-called E traditions in his development of narrative portions of the Pentateuch. This may be purely coincidental, however, owing to the redundancies of the doublets of J or P. The sacred Scripture of the Samaritans is not E, but the Pentateuch in its entirety. While the Samaritans can hardly acknowledge the fact, their acceptance of the Pentateuch indicates their indebtedness to Judaism.

Just as it is helpful to regard the Samaritan position on their Israelite origins as a naïve but necessary sectarian apologetic, it is also helpful to regard the Jewish claim of the pagan origins of the sect as an antisectarian polemic. Although the Jewish traditions may have overstated their case (the sectarians were more orthodox than they cared to admit), they were essentially correct in maintaining that the Samaritan claim for historical legitimacy was belied by the actual state of religion in Samaria following the Assyrian conquest.

Following the destruction of Samaria, the Assyrians settled colonists from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sephar-vaim in the principal cities of the north. According to II Kings 17:24–34a, these people became Yahwists as a result of the fear of the local deity occasioned by a plague of lions. Since they did not know the indigenous faith, a Yahwistic priest was returned from exile to instruct them in the local religion. They are said to have become Yahwists, while continuing to serve the gods of their homelands.

¹¹ John Macdonald, *Memar Marqah: The Teaching of Marqah* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 84; Berlin: Alfred Töpelman, 1963), I, xli–xlii.

The account of II Kings 17:24–34a is supplemented with what is obviously a secondary addition (34b–40). The supplement is less kind than the primary account; in it the settlers are not even credited with fearing Yahweh (17:34b, but compare 17:33).

Rabbinic traditions, preserved in the Talmud and the Midrashim, maintain that Samaritanism and the Samaritans came into being as a result of this situation. This claim is underscored in the name given to the sectarians: They are called *Kûtîm* (from Cuthah, *Kûtâ*, II Kings 17:24). The Samaritans have not allowed this charge to go unanswered. They have contended that the designation *Kûtîm* is not derived from the Mesopotamian *Kûtâ*, but from a valley of the same name in Palestine.¹² Also, they claim that true worship was restored with the return of a Yahwistic priest to Samaria,¹³ with no subsequent religious syncretism.¹⁴

Although the antisectarian polemic of Jewish tradition provides the necessary corrective to the Samaritan claim of pre-exilic origins, it fails to provide an adequate answer to the question of the origin of the sect. Samaritanism in its sectarian expression is no more an extension of the syncretistic Yahwism of eighth century Samaria than it is a perpetuation of a pure and uncorrupted ancient Israelite faith. It may not have been entirely unfair for Jewish traditions to refer to the Samaritans as *Kûtîm* (in view of the ethnic origins of the people who made up the sect), but the continued use of the term to apply to the sect was slanderous. It implied that the Samaritans exhibited the characteristics of the *Kûtîm* of II Kings 17. This was not the case, as is evident from the treatment of Samaritan-Jewish relations in the Jewish traditions. The religion of the Samaritans has never been characterized by pagan elements, nor are there vestigial remains of paganism in the sect to suggest that the Samaritans expunged such elements. Attempts to prove that the Samaritans

¹² See Vilmar, *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani*, p. lix.

¹³ See n. 6, above.

¹⁴ For further Samaritan apologetics, see the texts treated by A. S. Halkin, "Samaritan Polemics against the Jews," *PAAJR*, 7 (1935–1936), 13–59.

were at one time dove worshipers or fire worshipers have failed.¹⁵ The suggestion that the Samaritans are reformed pagans adds little to the solution of the problem of the origin of the sect, except to imply that there were two distinct and antithetic stages of Samaritan religion. Pagan practices among the people of Samaria must be recognized as having existed at one time quite apart from the life and thought of the later Samaritan sect, or as belonging to the pre-sectarian stage of the history of the Samaritan people.

As far as the account of II Kings 17:24-34a and the supplement of 17:34b-40 are concerned, it is not likely that these are, in themselves, an indictment of the Samaritan sect.¹⁶ The antisectarian polemic belongs to the Rabbinic interpretation of this material. II Kings 17:24-34a is an indictment of pagan practices which were extant and dominant in Samaria from the time of the Assyrian conquest to the time when the Deuteronomic history was compiled. Its supplement (17:34b-40) is a slightly exaggerated development of the same theme. Some scholars have none the less followed the Rabbinic claim and traced the origin of the Samaritan sect to the late eighth century.¹⁷ The absence of any anti-Samaritan bias in the policies of the kings Hezekiah and Josiah, in the book of Deuteronomy, and in the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel strongly suggest, however, that there was no organized Samaritan sect in the late pre-exilic or early exilic periods.¹⁸

When Samaritanism later emerged as a sect, it possessed a relatively orthodox character, in spite of its heritage. The leaders of

¹⁵ The tradition concerning a dove-cult on Gerizim dates from the fourth century A.D. On this, see H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. I: *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (Munich: Oskar Beck, 1922), p. 522; Montgomery, *Samaritans*, pp. 319-321.

¹⁶ In contradiction of H. H. Rowley, who regards the material in II Kings 17 as antisectarian, but who holds that it is in no way a reliable account of the origin of the sect. See his "Samaritan Schism in Legend and History," in the *Mulienburg Festschrift, Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, eds. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), pp. 208-222.

¹⁷ See the listing in Rowley's article, *ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

¹⁸ See also, Rowley, *ibid.*, pp. 210-214, 222.

Judaism, nevertheless, continued to regard the Samaritans with disdain, even while granting them certain rights and privileges. This resulted in an ambivalent attitude of Jews toward Samaritans which often appears to be irrational. On the one hand, the Samaritans are called *Kūtim* (with connotations of present character as well as descent); on the other hand, the opening lines of the extra-Talmudic tractate *Kūtim* state, "The usages of the Samaritans are in part like those of the Gentiles, in part like those of Israel, but mostly like Israel."¹⁹ This ambivalence is evident throughout the Jewish traditions: Samaritans are like Jews, yet unlike Jews; they are scrupulous in religious observances,²⁰ and they are sacrilegious scoundrels;²¹ they can be trusted and they cannot be trusted. What is found in all of this is a deep seated antipathy toward the Samaritans coupled with the recognition that the sectarians still possess certain rights within the Jewish community; they are to be respected and trusted in some respects, as much as they are to be held in suspicion in regard to other matters.²² That the Samaritans should even have enjoyed this amount of status among the Jews is sufficient evidence to discredit the claim of the pagan origin of the sect.

If the Samaritan apologetic adds little to our understanding of the origin of the sect, the Jewish polemic is no more helpful. Just as the Samaritans have sought to establish their legitimacy through the claim of old Israelite origins, the Jewish traditions have sought to discredit the Samaritans through a counterclaim of pagan origins. Although the Jewish position scarcely falls short of calumny, it is no less kind to the Samaritans than is the Samaritan position to the Jews. Neither position is of much help in understanding the actual

¹⁹ The translation is that of Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 197.

²⁰ So the dictum of Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel: "Whatever precepts the *Kūtim* have adopted, they are very strict in the observance thereof, more so than the Israelites." See *Qiddūšin* 76a; *B'rākôt* 47b; *Giṭṭin* 10a; *Hullin* 4a.

²¹ See Josephus's claim that the Samaritans scattered human bones in the temple in Jerusalem to desecrate it. *Antiquities* XVIII. 30.

²² See Montgomery's comments in *Samaritans*, p. 168.

origin of the sect, but each is of importance in understanding what the Samaritans later thought of themselves and how they were regarded by their Jewish neighbors. In this respect, the Jewish traditions appear to be less noble than the Samaritan traditions, for the sectarians were as orthodox as they claimed to be, although they exaggerated the antiquity of their orthodoxy. On the other hand, the Jewish traditions were correct in maintaining that the Samaritan claim is discredited by the actual state of religion in Samaria after the Assyrian conquest.

II. Post-exilic Origins

✓ The emergence of a distinctively sectarian Samaritan community could have been no earlier than the post-exilic period. Although there were numerous ruptures in relations between northern and southern Palestine prior to this time (of which the division of the monarchy in 922 B.C. was the most dramatic), there is no evidence to suggest that the Samaritan sect came into existence as the result of any one of these.²³ The occasion for a separated but legitimate religious community in Samaria was provided by a cultural and political rift between Judah and Samaria which developed in the Persian period and which continued to widen until the estrangement between the two communities was finally made complete. The beginnings of the alienation between Judaeans and Samaritans in the Persian period can be traced to the rebuff of the Samaritan Yahwists who offered their assistance in the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple (Ezra 4:1-5). This incident led to the harassment of the Judaeans by their neighbors, the initial seriousness or pettiness of

²³ As opposed to Simon and Black, who regard the disruption of the monarchy in 922 B.C. as the ultimate source of the division between Judaeans and Samaritans: Marcel Simon, *Les sectes juives au temps de Jésus* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), p. 9; Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 65.

which is difficult to assess.²⁴ These vexations were increased considerably in the time of Nehemiah, when the Samaritan governor Sanballat was in league with Tobiah, the governor of Ammon, and Geshem, the governor of the Arab Qedarite confederacy, in efforts to frustrate the reconstruction of the Judaean state.²⁵ Although Sanballat appears to have been politically motivated in his policies,²⁶ his popular support in the north was probably abetted by Samaritan resentment of the policies of the restored Jewish commonwealth. The Samaritans are not mentioned specifically in the work of Ezra, but his attempts to consolidate Judaism through its ethnic purification would certainly have intensified the estrangement between Judah and her neighbors to the north.²⁷

The occasion for a Samaritan schism was thus provided as early as the Persian period in the post-exilic era. It is by no means certain, however, that the Samaritans seized any opportunity to establish a rival cultus and separated religious community at this time. Such a movement would have been within the realm of possibility; whether a schism did in fact occur then must be demonstrated on grounds other than mere possibility.

That a Samaritan separation occurred in the late Persian period has been argued by some on the basis of the testimony of Josephus.²⁸

²⁴ Ezra 4:4-5 states that "the people of the land" discouraged and harassed the Judahites and "hired counselors against them." They also wrote to the Persian authorities in efforts to restrict the rebuilding of Jerusalem. I Esdras 5:72-73 adds some supplementary materials to the understanding of the extent of the harassment, as does also Josephus, *Antiquities* XI. 88, 97, 114-115.

²⁵ Nehemiah 2:10, 19; 3:33-6:19 (English=4:1-6:19); 13:4-9, 28.

²⁶ The political character of the Nehemiah-Sanballat tensions has been astutely assessed by Albrecht Alt in a number of his studies. See "Die Rolle Samarias bei der Entstehung des Judentums," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1953), II, 316-337; "Judas Nachbarn zur Zeit Nehemiah," *ibid.*, pp. 338-345.

²⁷ This probably accounts for the strong Samaritan animus against Ezra. When he is mentioned in Samaritan writings, it is usually in some derogatory way. He is often called "the cursed Ezra."

²⁸ See Introduction, n. 17.

While Josephus dates the building of the Samaritan temple in the time of Alexander the Great, he relates its construction to the work of the Samaritan governor Sanballat. According to Josephus, Sanballat gave his daughter Nicaso in marriage to Manasseh, a member of the high priestly family in Jerusalem. This marriage so infuriated the elders of Jerusalem that they expelled him from the Temple and from the city. Manasseh informed Sanballat that if he had to choose between Nicaso and the priesthood he would choose the latter. Sanballat, however, suggested a plan whereby he could keep Nicaso and still officiate as a priest. He offered to build his son-in-law a temple on Mt. Gerizim and install him as high priest of the Samaritan sanctuary. Sanballat first sought permission for the construction of such a temple from Darius. But while arrangements were being made, Alexander the Great invaded the Orient. The change in political circumstances caused Sanballat to shift his allegiance to the Macedonian. He went to Alexander at Tyre and offered him eight thousand Samaritans to assist in the siege of that city. In exchange for his pledge of loyalty, Alexander gave Sanballat permission to erect a temple on Mt. Gerizim. The Samaritan schism was thus initiated, with a number of exiles (mostly reprobates) associating themselves with Manasseh and the new Samaritan cultus.²⁹

Those who argue for a Samaritan schism in the Persian period maintain that this account is an expansion of an incident which occurred in connection with the ministry of Nehemiah. According to the biblical record (Nehemiah 13:28), Nehemiah expelled from Jerusalem an unnamed priest who had married into the family of Sanballat. The priest is called the son of Jehoiada and the grandson of Eliashib. In the Josephus account, however, the expelled priest is the brother of Jaddua. Jaddua is known (from Nehemiah 12:11) to have been the great-grandson of Eliashib and the grandson of Joiada (Jehoiada). This would make the expelled priest of Josephus's account the nephew of the expelled priest of Nehemiah 13:28! In

²⁹ *Antiquities* XI. 302-325.

spite of the problem of chronology (Josephus dates the incident in the late Persian and early Greek periods, and not in the time of Nehemiah), and in spite of the discrepancy in family relations, it has still been argued that Josephus's account preserves the historical memory of a Samaritan schism in the Persian period that occurred as a result of the incident of Nehemiah 13:28. Advocates of this position hold that Josephus erred when he brought the story down into the early Greek period and altered the family relationship to eliminate chronological difficulties.

Apart from Josephus, there is nothing else which would suggest that a Samaritan schism occurred as a result of the expulsion of a Jerusalem priest in the time of Nehemiah. No such consequences are noted in the biblical account of Nehemiah 13, and there is no reference to a Samaritan schism or the construction of a Samaritan temple in any other post-exilic biblical literature. Some have claimed to have found biblical allusions to such an event, but the texts cited are open to other interpretations.³⁰ Nor is there any extrabiblical evidence by which a Samaritan schism can be substantiated. The claim that a Samaritan schism occurred in the Persian period as a result of the Nehemiah 13 incident rests solely upon an interpretation of the Josephus account in *Antiquities* XI, 302–325.

The account of Josephus is, however, open to other interpretations. The thesis that Josephus alludes to an incident of the Persian period, but incorrectly places it in the Greek period, can be matched by the alternative thesis that Josephus correctly records an incident of the Greek period, but incorrectly associates it with an incident from the Persian period.³¹ The latter thesis has had as many adherents as has the former. Indeed, the significant role played by Alexander the Great in the Josephus account would seem to favor this alternative thesis. But the solution to the matter will not be gained by

³⁰ See Rowley, "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," *BJRL*, 38 (1955), 183; Mathias Delcor, "Hinweise auf das samaritanische Schisma im alten Testament," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 281–291.

³¹ See Introduction, note 18.

matching hypothesis against hypothesis. The basic problems of the Josephus account remain to cast a shadow of doubt upon either alternative.

The difficulties in Josephus's account stem from the fact that he has juxtaposed his treatment of Palestinian history of the Persian period with his treatment of Palestinian history of the Greek period so that events of both periods have been telescoped to fit his account. Josephus was not a chronicler, but an historian who worked with whatever historical materials were available to him. When he found his sources deficient for a particular segment of history, he did the best he could to provide an intelligible continuity for his account. The nexus which Josephus used to put these two periods together was Sanballat.

Sanballat is the common element in the two stories of the expulsion of a Jerusalem priest, the one an expulsion by Nehemiah (Nehemiah 13:28), and the other an expulsion by the elders of Jerusalem shortly before the time of Alexander the Great (*Antiquities* XI. 321-325). In each case, Sanballat is said to have been the father-in-law of the disenfranchised priest; and yet the priests involved are two different people (uncle and nephew) and the marriages and expulsions take place at two different times. The least complicated solution would be the suggestion that intermarriage between the high priestly family of Jerusalem and the ruling family of Samaria took place on more than one occasion and that in each of these two situations the governor of Samaria had the name Sanballat. In the first instance (Nehemiah 13:28), the governor was the contemporary of Nehemiah. In the second instance (*Antiquities* XI. 321-325), the governor was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who bore, through the common practice of papponymy, the same name as his illustrious ancestor. Because of the duplication of the incident of intermarriage, in which a Sanballat was father-in-law on each occasion, Josephus was able to use the person of Sanballat to provide a connecting link between the Persian and Greek periods. By recognizing only one

Sanballat and by coalescing events of two different periods, he was able to provide the necessary nexus for continuity in his historical account.

The view that there were two Sanballats has long been entertained,³² and a number of scholars of significant stature have subscribed to it.³³ It has, none the less, failed to have universal following, probably because there was until recently no evidence, outside of Josephus, for the existence of a Sanballat other than Nehemiah's contemporary. A Sanballat is mentioned in the Elephantine papyri, but he is clearly the contemporary of Nehemiah.³⁴ The silence of external data at this juncture should not really have posed such an obstacle. The late Persian period is one in which there has been a genuine paucity of extrabiblical materials relating to Palestinian history. From the later Greek period, however, it is known that the practice of papponymy (naming the grandson after the grandfather) was widespread; witness the Oniads and Tobiads in Josephus's *Antiquities*.³⁵ Frequent intermarriage between ruling houses was also no rarity in the ancient East.

From the recently discovered papyri of Wâdi Dâliyah there has now come evidence of a Sanballat who was probably the father of one Hananiah, governor of Samaria in 354 B.C.³⁶ This Sanballat could scarcely have been Nehemiah's contemporary, because it is

³² Rowley traces this suggestion to I. Vossius, in the eighteenth century. "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," p. 171.

³³ Including I. Spak, *Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen* (Königsberg, 1911), p. 14; M. Gaster, *Samaritans*, p. 30; C. C. Torrey, "Sanballat the Horonite," *JBL*, 47 (1928), 380-389; W. F. Albright, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler," *JBL*, 40 (1921), 122.

³⁴ A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), no. 30; H. L. Ginsberg, "Aramaic Letters: Letters of the Jews in Elephantine," in James Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 492.

³⁵ Reference might also be made to the practice of papponymy in the names of the Samaritan high priests listed in the various Samaria chronicles.

³⁶ See F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," *BA*, 26 (1963), 111, 120-121; see also his "Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and Hellenistic Times," *HTR*, 59 (1966), 201-211.

known from the Elephantine papyri that Sanballat had been succeeded by his sons Delaiah and Shelemiah in the last decade of the fifth century. But if Sanballat, the father of Hananiah, could not have been Nehemiah's contemporary, he could have been the grandson of Nehemiah's archenemy. We are thus given evidence of two Sanballats, whom we may designate Sanballat I and II. The latter Sanballat still does not qualify for the Sanballat who gave his daughter Nicaso to Manasseh; but since he had been succeeded by his son Hananiah by 354, he could easily have had a grandson with the same name (Sanballat III) who was governor when Alexander the Great invaded the East.³⁷ While the papyri of Wâdi Dâliyah do not give direct evidence of a Sanballat who was the contemporary of Alexander the Great, they present the incontrovertible evidence that papyponymy was practiced in this ruling house of Samaria, with the illustrious name of Sanballat being perpetuated in alternating generations (in at least one case, but with a precedent for further instances). They also give a chronological sequence in which it was possible for there to have been a Sanballat III, the contemporary of Alexander the Great.³⁸

It is, then, the early Greek period, rather than the time of Nehemiah, to which one is to look for the establishment of a Samaritan sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim. There is no reason to doubt, and good reason to accept, the general reliability of Josephus's account of the rôle of Sanballat (III) and his son-in-law Manasseh. While his account may appear to be confused with the account of Nehemiah

³⁷ As suggested by Cross, in "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri."

³⁸ It is even possible that there were more than these three Sanballats. The ruling house of Samaria came to an end when a Macedonian colony was established by Perdiccas in Samaria, hence there could have been no Sanballat after our Sanballat III. But it is possible that Sanballat the Horonite was not the first of the Sanballats in Samaria. Samaritan tradition knows of a Sanballat who was a contemporary of Zerubbabel. (On this, see Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, pp. 181-184). If the Samaritan tradition preserves some fragment of historical memory at this point, then our numbering would have to be revised, with Sanballat the Horonite becoming Sanballat II, etc.

13:28, it is not an unhistorical midrash on the biblical text. It is even possible that Josephus may have been dependent upon a Samaritan source for at least part of his account of the construction of the Samaritan shrine.³⁹

The erection of a Samaritan temple on Gerizim was roughly contemporaneous with two other events of the early Greek period—the establishment of a Macedonian colony in the city of Samaria and the rebuilding and resettlement of Shechem. The establishment of a Greek colony in Samaria is known from Eusebius, Jerome, and Syncellus⁴⁰ and is confirmed by archaeology.⁴¹ The resettlement of Shechem is known from the recent excavations of that site.⁴² Prior to the

³⁹ Especially, *Antiquities* XI. 321–325, in which the Samaritans court the favor of Alexander and in which authorization for their temple is granted. That a Samaritan sources lies behind this account was first suggested by A. Büchler, “La relation de Josèphe concernant Alexandre le Grand,” *REJ*, 36 (1898), 1–26. See Ralph Marcus, *Josephus* (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), VI, 532. Alexander the Great does appear in Samaritan folklore, although he is not said to have authorized the building of the temple. See Adler and Séligsohn, “Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine,” *REJ*, 45 (1902), p. 73; Vilmar, *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani*, p. lxi; Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, pp. 184–186. Curiously, the Samaritan account of the meeting of Alexander and the Samaritan high priest (Hezekiah) is similar to Josephus’s account of the meeting of Alexander and the Jerusalem high priest (Jaddua) in *Antiquities* XI. 326–339. It is very likely that a Samaritan tradition (comparable to the Jewish tradition preserved in *Antiquities* XI. 326–339) lies behind *Antiquities* XI. 321–325. If for no other reason, this is to be seen in the way in which *Antiquities* XI. 321–325 contrasts with a second account of an Alexander-Samaritan encounter in *Antiquities* XI. 340–345. In the latter account, the Samaritans are not received favorably, and Alexander is unaware of exactly who the Samaritans are. The discrepancy between the two traditions can only be explained by their separate and independent development prior to their use by Josephus.

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *Chronicon* II. 223, ed. Aucher (=II. 114, ed. Schoene). The sources are given by Marcus, *Josephus*, VI, 523–525. See also, G. E. Wright, “Samaritans at Shechem,” *HTR*, 55 (1962), 363–364. (This article appears in revised form as Chapter 10 of Wright’s *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965], pp. 170–184.) See also Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1959), pp. 103–104, 450–451.

⁴¹ Excavations at Samaria indicate that the city was refortified in the early Greek period. The building activity included round towers of non-Palestinian architectural type. See Wright, “Samaritans at Shechem,” p. 364.

⁴² See Wright, “Samaritans at Shechem,” pp. 358–359. For the preliminary

Drew-McCormick-Harvard excavations at Shechem, Elias Bickerman had suggested that the establishment of a Macedonian colony in Samaria was of decisive importance in the history of the Samaritan people and that this incident was related to the emergence of a Samaritan community at Shechem and the development of a cultic center on Gerizim.⁴³ It is now evident that the development of Samaria as a Greek city *was* related to the concurrent development of Shechem.

The background of the situation at Samaria is provided by the Latin historian Quintus Curtius.⁴⁴ According to Curtius, Alexander placed the official Andromachus in charge of Coele-Syria after he had subdued the area and marched to Egypt. While Alexander was in Egypt an insurrection occurred in Samaria. The people of that

reports on the work at Shechem, see G. E. Wright, "The First Campaign at Tell Balāṭah (Shechem)," *BASOR*, 144 (1956), 9-20; Wright, "The Second Campaign at Tell Balāṭah (Shechem)," *BASOR*, 148 (1957), 11-28; L. E. Toombs and G. E. Wright, "The Third Campaign at Tell Balāṭah (Shechem)," *BASOR*, 161 (1961), 11-54; Toombs and Wright, "The Fourth Campaign at Balāṭah (Shechem)," *BASOR*, 169 (1963), 1-60. See also the more extensive publication in Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City*, pp. 47, 66-67, 170-175.

In addition to the excavations at Tell Balāṭah, archaeological work is also being carried out at Tell er-Ras, on Mt. Gerizim. The diggings there have revealed a temple of the Roman period which is undoubtedly the temple erected by Hadrian, 117-138 A.D. See R. J. Bull and G. Ernest Wright, "Newly Discovered Temples on Mt. Gerizim," *HTR*, 58 (1965), 234-237. Excavations of the foundations of this temple disclosed beneath it a large building (Building B) made of large semi-hewn stones laid with mud mortar. Work at the site in the summer of 1966 revealed that the building was about twenty meters square and eight meters in height. Pottery found along the south face of the building was predominantly second and third century B.C. Hellenistic. It now seems most likely that this structure is the Samaritan temple erected in the late fourth century B.C., although a more definitive judgment must await further archaeological work. (The campaign of the summer of 1966 is described briefly in the "Confidential Newsletter," no. 2 [1966-1967] of the American Schools of Oriental Research.)

⁴³ Bickerman's original work appeared in an article entitled "The Historical Foundations of Postbiblical Judaism," in Louis Finkelstein, ed., *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949). It is now found in Elias Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), pp. 41-46.

⁴⁴ *History of Alexander* IV. 8-10.

city rose up against the prefect and burned him alive. Upon his return from Egypt, Alexander took punitive action against Samaria and appointed Menon to succeed the murdered Andromachus. To this information, Eusebius and Syncellus add that Macedonians were settled in Samaria by Alexander, although in another context Eusebius states that the Greek colony was established by Alexander's general Perdiccas.⁴⁵ It is likely that while Alexander put down the uprising and devastated the city, the actual work of establishing Macedonians there was left to Perdiccas.⁴⁶ Perdiccas's work probably included also the elevation of the colony to the status of a Greek polis.⁴⁷

The thoroughness of the reprisals against the Samaritans can be seen in the circumstances surrounding the deposit of the recently discovered Samaritan papyri in the caves of Wādī Dāliyah. On the basis of the finds, now supported by the archaeological work done at the site, it is possible to conclude that the documents were taken to these caves by a fairly large number of Samaritan noblemen (perhaps several hundred) who had fled Samaria at this time. Their flight was unsuccessful; they were followed to their hiding place and there mercilessly slaughtered to the last woman and child.⁴⁸

Although Josephus records nothing concerning the Samaritan insurrection and its tragic consequences, he does note an encounter between Alexander and the Samaritans in which the latter were not favorably received.⁴⁹ This contrasts with his earlier account of an

⁴⁵ *Chronicon* II. 229, ed. Aucher (=II. 118, ed. Schoene). See above, n. 40.

⁴⁶ See Tcherikover, following Willrich and Schürer: *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, p. 104.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* See also pp. 90-116 for an excellent discussion of the Greek poleis of Palestine.

⁴⁸ Cross, "Samaria Papyri," p. 119; Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City*, p. 181.

⁴⁹ *Antiquities* XI. 340-345. See the concluding remarks in n. 39. Sanballat does not figure in this second account. Josephus states that he died shortly after the authorization and construction of the Samaritan temple (*Antiquities* XI. 325). This account is sometimes compared with an account of an encounter between Alexander the Great and the Samaritans preserved in a scholion to *Megillat*

Alexander-Sanballat meeting in which the Samaritans were granted privileges by the Macedonian and is in general agreement (because of its negative character) with the anti-Samaritan activities of Alexander noted by Eusebius and Syncellus. The disparity between the two accounts of Josephus does not demand that only one, the latter, be regarded as historically reliable. The stern measures taken against Samaria after Alexander's return from Egypt do not preclude the extension of certain privileges to the Samaritan governor at an earlier time. Both accounts of Josephus may be accepted as grounded in historical situations. On the one hand, the Samaritans were granted privileges by the Greeks; on the other hand, and about a year later, their relations with the Greeks were totally negative. Josephus's knowledge of this latter aspect of Samaritan-Greek relations was considerably limited; he knew of no strong punitive actions, only a mild rebuff. Josephus adds practically nothing to our knowledge of the anti-Samaritan activities of Alexander, although he does note that some Samaritans were deported to Egypt for service in the Thebaid,⁵⁰ and that the district of Samaria was given to the Jews.⁵¹

A fairly clear picture of the Samaritan situation in the late fourth century now begins to emerge. The Samaritan Yahwists of mixed ethnic descent, who had exercised political authority and cultural leadership in Samaria, were now disenfranchised. They could no longer maintain the status or exercise the authority they had enjoyed while they were in control of that city. Nor could they turn to Jerusalem, for relations between the two communities were far from

Ta'anit. (For the text, see Hans Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle," *HUCA*, 8-9 [1931-1932], 339.) Actually, the details of the account have a greater similarity to *Antiquities* XI. 326-339. I have not introduced this tradition into the discussion at this point because it seems likely that the scholion reflects Jewish-Samaritan hostilities of a later period (the time of Simon the Just and Antiochus the Great). See Appendix below.

⁵⁰ *Antiquities* XI. 345. On the Samaritans in Egypt, see Marcus, *Josephus*, 481. Egypt was later to become a center of the Samaritan diaspora, the other great center being Damascus.

⁵¹ *Against Apion* II. 43.

cordial. The solution to their dilemma was undoubtedly found in the development of a new Samaritan community at Shechem. From the excavations at Shechem it is known that the site was rebuilt in the early Hellenistic period, after having been virtually uninhabited during the Persian period. The suggestion that Shechem was repopulated by the disenfranchised Yahwists of Samaria provides the best explanation for the renascence of that site. Shechem would have been the logical place for these people to settle; it was a time-honored site, hallowed by the most ancient Hebrew traditions, and adjacent to the holy mountain of the north. It was at this place that the Samaritans built their restored community and developed a rival cultic establishment. The temple had already been built under the aegis of Sanballat III. With the development of Shechem, a new cultural and religious center was firmly established in the north.

This particular situation is not without parallel. As Bickerman has noted, "It often happened that when a Greek colony was established, native villages under its control formed a union around an ancestral sanctuary."⁵² It was apparently after such a pattern that the Samaritans were organized at Shechem and Mt. Gerizim.⁵³

With their establishment at Shechem, the Samaritans then began the long and tortuous process of self-identification, as well as the clarification of their relationship to Judah and its faith. The end result of this process is well known—it was eventually established that Jews and Samaritans have no dealings with one another—but the means by which these two groups came to a complete parting of the

⁵² Elias Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees*, pp. 43–44.

⁵³ Bickerman also holds that the new Shechemites took the name "Sidonians of Shechem," with Sidonian (or Phoenician) suggesting that they were of the aboriginal inhabitants of the land. Because the only knowledge of the use of the designation "Sidonians of Shechem" comes from the anti-Samaritan polemics of Josephus, it is not known if the Shechemites actually used this expression of themselves (see *Antiquities* XI. 344; XII. 257–264). It would also be wise to hold in abeyance the suggestion (sometimes made) that there was a Sidonian colony at Shechem. The closest parallel to this would be the Sidonian colony at Marissa. See M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), I, 341, 520.

ways are not clear. As has been indicated, there were continued social and cultural contacts between Jews and Samaritans for some time, and Jewish traditions recognize a certain legitimate status of the "*Kutim*." The existence of a Samaritan temple on Gerizim, however, must have been a vexation to the Jews, and the Samaritan claims of its legitimacy must have been a further source of embarrassment.

While it would have been possible for Jews and Samaritans to live together in Palestine in their respective provinces, the feelings of estrangement between the two groups were probably more acute in the diaspora. When Jews and Samaritans lived in the same communities in the diaspora, it was necessary to explain their primary allegiance to the authorities from whom they requested privileges. This would naturally result in disputes between the two groups. It is not surprising that Josephus records bitter controversies between Samaritans and Jews in Egypt⁵⁴ and that similar controversies are noted in the Samaritan chronicles.⁵⁵ Because Jerusalem had a magnetic force among the Jews of the diaspora, Shechem would also have exerted a comparable force among the Samaritans in their diaspora. Samaritan traditions indicate that their community continued to be built up by Samaritans of the diaspora long after the major return from the exile.⁵⁶ When Samaritans and Jews returned to their respective homelands, they would have brought with them their mutual antipathies and resentments. Although sufficient grounds for the development of Samaritan-Jewish hostilities may be found within Palestine itself, the influence of the diaspora ought not to be overlooked.

Very little is known of the Samaritan community from the time of the resettlement of Shechem to the time of Antiochus IV. This silence may in itself be indicative of some attempt to restore harmonious

* ⁵⁴ *Antiquities* XII. 10; XIII. 74-79.

* ⁵⁵ Adler and Séligsohn, "Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine," *REJ*, 44 (1902), 218-228; Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, pp. 181-184.

⁵⁶ Adler and Séligsohn, "Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine," *REJ*, 45 (1902), 72.

relations between Shechem and Jerusalem, at least during the third century B.C. But any attempts at reconciliation during this period were certainly frustrated by an outbreak of Samaritan-Jewish hostilities at the end of the third and the beginning of the second centuries. The writer has attempted to demonstrate elsewhere that the Samaritans were brought into the quarrels between the Jerusalem and Transjordanian branches of the Tobiad family, with Simon the Just siding with the former, and the Samaritans siding with the latter.⁵⁷ This resulted in the harassment of the Jews by the Samaritans and in reprisals by the Jews which were supported by Antiochus III.⁵⁸ If I have correctly interpreted the events of this period, the Samaritans were following a pro-Ptolemaic policy with the Transjordanian Tobiads, while Simon the Just and the Jerusalem Tobiads were pursuing a pro-Seleucid policy. As a result of punitive actions to which they were subjected, the Samaritans adopted thereafter a consistently pro-Seleucid policy. They made no further attempts to thwart the policies of Antioch, and in the time of Antiochus IV they readily accepted Hellenization.

The Hellenizing of Shechem under Antiochus IV is recorded in both II Maccabees and in Josephus, and it must have left a lasting impression upon the memory of the Jews. The knowledge that the Samaritans met this challenge with far less courage than did the Jews would certainly have had an adverse effect upon future relations between Jerusalem and Shechem. According to II Maccabees 6:1-6, Antiochus commissioned an Athenian (or Antiochian) to encourage apostasy among the Jews and the Samaritans, and to rename the temple in Jerusalem "the temple of Olympian Zeus (*Diòs Olympiou*)" and the temple on Mt. Gerizim "the temple of Zeus the Friend of

⁵⁷ See Appendix, below.

⁵⁸ Although the sources supporting this interpretation are, admittedly, few, the evidence is not insignificant. In support of my thesis, I utilized materials from Josephus and the *Megillat Ta'anit*. The thesis may also receive support from some Samaritan traditions. In this article it is suggested that Ben Sira's admiration for Simon the Just prompted his invective against the Samaritans (50:25-26).

Strangers (*Diòs Xeníou*).” Josephus suggests that the Samaritans willingly and eagerly accepted the orders of Antiochus to avoid persecution.⁵⁹ The account of Josephus also includes a record of correspondence between the Shechemites and Antiochus and makes note of correspondence between Antiochus and Apollonius, the governor of the district of Samaria, concerning this matter. The actual extent of the Hellenizing of Shechem is not known, but it is apparent that Greek religion made no lasting impression upon the religion of the Samaritans.⁶⁰ Josephus does not suggest that the situation in Shechem was as abominable as it was in Jerusalem. If it had been, he probably would have seized upon the opportunity to elaborate.

Curiously, neither Shechem nor Samaria is mentioned in connection with the military exploits of Judas Maccabaeus which followed the Jewish revolt.⁶¹ Although his campaigns took him into Galilee and Transjordan, he was involved in no military activities in Samaria. The strength of the city of Samaria probably accounts for his reluctance to become engaged there, but his bypassing of Shechem is difficult to explain. Granted that there is more to history than the historian records (the Shechemites *could* have supported the Maccabean revolt,⁶² or they *could* have been dealt with harshly by Judas),

⁵⁹ *Antiquities* XII. 257–264. Josephus, however, states that the Gerizim temple was renamed Zeus Hellenios (*Diòs Hellēniou*).

⁶⁰ At least as far as is known from the Samaritan theological texts, none of which is earlier than the fourth century A.D. But see above, Introduction, n. 21, on the cultural impact of Hellenization in Samaria.

⁶¹ The reading “Samaria” which is found in some manuscripts in I Maccabees 5:65 and II Maccabees 12:35 is generally recognized as a corruption of Marissa. On this, see Marcus, *Josephus*, VII, 183.

⁶² At the beginning of the revolt, Mattathias received the support of the Hasideans or Hasidim (I Maccabees 2:42). This group figures prominently in current discussions of the origin of the Essenes. It is interesting to note that Samaritan traditions mention three significant religious movements in Palestine during the Hasmonaean period: the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Hasidim. They claim that the last of these three movements was made up of Samaritans! See Vilmar, *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani*, p. 102; Adler and Séligsohn, “Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine,” *REJ*, 45 (1902), 75.

the silence of the historian Josephus at this point suggests that the Shechemites were of no great concern to Judas.

Shechem figures dramatically, however, in the military activities of John Hyrcanus. According to Josephus, Hyrcanus marched out against the cities of Syria after the death of Antiochus VII (Sidetes) in 129 B.C.⁶³ He captured Medeba, after a siege of six months, and Samaga and its territory. After this, he pillaged Shechem and Mt. Gerizim, destroying the Samaritan temple in 128 B.C. He then marched south and subdued the Idumaeans, forcing them to accept circumcision and to adopt the customs and ordinances of the Jews. Not long afterward, he besieged Samaria, taking the city and destroying it after a year.⁶⁴

Hyrcanus was undoubtedly motivated by a number of factors in the destruction of Shechem and the despoiling of Gerizim. First of all, there was the presence of the Samaritan temple, an irritant to the Jews. A temple in the north, supported by a comparatively insignificant cultural-political force, would have been no great threat to the cultural or political stability of Judah; but it would have been a divisive factor in the allegiance of the people of the rural areas of the north. The creation of a greater unity between Judah and the rest of Palestine would have been abetted by the removal of any other force which divided the north and the south. Also, animosities between Shechem and Jerusalem had been increasing from the time Shechem was re-established as a Samaritan center to the time of the Hasmonaeans. As has been indicated, these mutual antipathies were intensified through the distinct and conflicting policies of Shechem and Jerusalem, and through the harassment of the Jews by the Samaritans.

Hyrcanus's military activities in Samaria and Idumaea followed

⁶³ *Antiquities* XIII. 254-258; cf. *War of the Jews* I. 62-63.

⁶⁴ *Antiquities* XIII. 275-281; cf. *War of the Jews* I. 64-65. See Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City*, pp. 183-184. The destruction of Samaria is to be dated in 107 B.C. It is also likely that the final and complete destruction of Shechem dates from this time.

the demise of Antiochus VII (Sidetes) and were attempts to correct the situation that had prevailed under the administration of that Seleucid ruler. Antiochus VII had broken the "peace of Simon" in 138 B.C. when he invaded Palestine and sought to bring Judah into submission. When he did, he revoked certain privileges formerly granted by himself and by his predecessor Demetrius II (I Maccabees 15:25-36). When Simon was murdered in Jericho, a city populated by Idumaeans and separate from Judaeen jurisdiction,⁶⁵ the task of coming to terms with Antiochus VII fell to Simon's son Hyrcanus. While Hyrcanus succeeded in making agreements with Sidetes, and even offered him assistance in his Parthian campaigns,⁶⁶ his activities were severely restricted by the Seleucid ruler. It was not until Antiochus' death that Hyrcanus could again move to establish more securely the Judaeen hegemony of Palestine.

The Judaeen control of territory outside of Judaea itself had been one of the major issues between Sidetes and the Jews in the time of Simon. Sidetes had sent his emissary Athenobius to Simon, demanding that the Jews relinquish the cities they had seized and the tribute money of the areas they controlled outside the borders of Judaea, or else surrender a large sum of money for these possessions (I Maccabees 15:28-31). Simon replied that he would give one hundred talents of silver for Joppa and Gazara (considerably less than Sidetes requested), since these cities did not properly belong to the Jews and were taken to assure the security of Judaea. Simon adamantly refused, however, to surrender the tribute secured from those areas of Palestine to which the Jews had a historic right: "We have neither taken foreign land nor seized foreign property, but only the *inheritance of our fathers*, which at one time had been unjustly taken by our enemies. Now that we have the opportunity, we are firmly

⁶⁵ On the Idumaeans and Jericho, see Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, pp. 145-147. It is very likely that Ptolemy, son of Abubus, the governor of Jericho who murdered Simon, was an Idumaeen.

⁶⁶ *Antiquities* XIII. 245-253.

holding the inheritance of our fathers" (I Maccabees 15:33-34). While the specific areas of dispute for which Simon maintained the right of inheritance are not specified, they would certainly have included the three districts of Samaria—Aphairema, Lydda, and Rathamin—which were confirmed as Judaeon possessions by Demetrius II in the time of Jonathan (I Maccabees 10:30, 38; 11:34).⁶⁷

Hyrceanus's later moves in the north (Samaria) and the south (Idumaea) are thus seen as attempts to solidify the extent of Judaeon authority—particularly in the north where the territory had been a point of dispute. His campaign at Shechem could even have been a punitive action, if the Samaritans had previously supported the policies of Antiochus VII. Of this there is no record in Josephus or in I Maccabees, although the Shechemites would certainly have found it to their advantage to support Sidetes. The campaign in Idumaea could also have been a punitive action, because Simon had been murdered in Jericho, a city under Idumaeon influence.

Although Hyrcanus's actions thus appear to have been motivated by political expediency, it is also possible that the destruction of the Samaritan temple was carried out for reasons that can properly be called religious. He was, after all, firmly established in the office of high priest in Jerusalem, as was his father Simon before him.⁶⁸ His religious stature is substantiated by both Josephus and Rabbinic traditions; he is said to have had the gift of prophecy (with the understanding of prognostication),⁶⁹ and he is credited with having heard the divine voice—the *bat qôl*—in the temple.⁷⁰ Also, he is reputed to have been a disciple of the Pharisees prior to his break

⁶⁷ Josephus states in *Against Apion* II. 43 that Alexander had given these districts to the Jews (see n. 51 above). Demetrius's action appears to have been a confirmation of this earlier action of Alexander.

⁶⁸ While Jonathan may have functioned as high priest (so *Antiquities* XIII. 45-46), it was really with Simon that the Hasmonaeans became firmly ensconced in the high priestly office. See I Maccabees 13:38-43.

⁶⁹ *Antiquities* XIII. 30; *War of the Jews* I. 68-69.

⁷⁰ *Antiquities* XIII. 282; *Sôfâ* 33a; *Tôsephâ Sôfâ* 13:5.

with that party and his endorsement of the Sadducees.⁷¹ The Samaritans may have had relations of some limited cordiality with the Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem prior to the time of Simon and Hyrcanus,⁷² but there was no cordiality between the Hasmonaean priest-kings and the priestly hierarchy of Gerizim. These newer, hostile relations were securely established by the action of John Hyrcanus.⁷³

The decisive importance of the destruction of Shechem and its sanctuary by Hyrcanus can not be underestimated. Prior to this event, the Samaritan community had existed apart from the center of Jewish life in Jerusalem, while being related to it by a common Yahwistic faith. Some channels of communication had remained open, in spite of the fact that Shechem and Jerusalem pursued independent (and sometimes conflicting) policies. With the destruction of their sanctuary and the devastation of Shechem by a Hasmonaean ruler, the Samaritans faced a crisis not unlike the difficult situation in which they had found themselves in the late fourth century. On that earlier occasion, the Samaritans had been forced to re-evaluate their status when they were deprived of political and cultural leadership of the city of Samaria. They were now, approximately two hundred years later, faced with the problem of defining

⁷¹ *Antiquities* XIII. 288–298. See especially, paragraph 289.

⁷² So Montgomery, *Samaritans*, pp. 72–73. The Zadokite priesthood in Shechem continued to function after its collateral branch failed in Jerusalem. On the passing of the Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem, see Cross, *Ancient Library of Qumrân*, pp. 137–140. The sympathy of the Essenes of Qumrân with the Zadokite tradition may account for certain similarities between the Samaritans and the Essenes. On these, see John Bowman, "Contact between Samaritan Sects and Qumrân?" *VT*, 7 (1957), 184–189, and his "The Importance of Samaritan Researches," *Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society* 1 (1958–1959), 43–54.

⁷³ The breakdown of channels of communication between the priesthood of Jerusalem and the priesthood of Shechem was completed by the time of Hyrcanus, if not earlier in the time of Simon (that is, when the Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem was replaced by the Hasmonaeans). Montgomery's suggestion that the Samaritans continued to maintain cultural contacts with Jerusalem after this time and that the Sadducean Hasmonaeans used the Samaritans as a counterweight to the Pharisees is untenable. See Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 80.

more clearly their relations with Jerusalem and with its faith. They found that just as they had been deprived of Samaria, they were now estranged from Jerusalem. The Judaeans were not their spiritual brethren! They did not even have a Zadokite priesthood in common, for the Hasmonaeen rulers had usurped the high priestly office in Jerusalem. In spite of appearances to the contrary, Samaritans and Jews could have nothing in common!

The Samaritans were not only faced with the problem of defining their relations with the Jews; they had the equally difficult task of substantiating the legitimacy of their independent and distinctive existence. If they had no relationship with Jerusalem, how could their right to exist be maintained? This question was made acute by the minority standing of the Samaritans. They could scarcely measure up to the status of the Jews and their faith. They had no great political machinery; their heritage was dubious; their ethnic background was suspect.

The assiduous efforts of the Samaritans to maintain their legitimacy resulted in the promotion of a sectarian claim which gave the community a *raison d'être* satisfactory enough to assure their existence from that time to the present day. They claimed that it is they, and not the Jews, who are the true heirs of Israel's faith. It is not Jerusalem and Zion which represent the true center of Israel, but Shechem and Gerizim. It is not the Jews who are the people of God, but rather the descendants of the tribes of Joseph residing in their ancestral territory, who remain faithful to the chosen place of worship. These claims are implicit in the chief sectarian monument of the community—their redaction of the Pentateuch.

Thanks to the progress of contemporary biblical scholarship, we are now in a position to evaluate more precisely the character of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Whereas previous generations had considered it to have been promulgated by the Samaritans at the time of the construction of their sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim, it is now evident that the work was produced in the late Hasmonaeen period. This

observation enables the historian to determine the time when the rupture in relations between Jerusalem and Shechem was made complete and the time when Samaritanism emerged as a Jewish sect. It now appears that previous estimates of the origin of the Samaritan sect placed the time of this decisive breach too early. The complete and irreparable break in relations between the Samaritans and the Jews occurred neither in the Persian nor the Greek periods. It occurred in the Hasmonaean period as the result of the destruction of Shechem and the ravaging of Gerizim by John Hyrcanus.

APPENDIX

Ben Sira³ and the Foolish People of Shechem

The concluding verses of the Wisdom of Yeshua^c Ben Sira³ contain a brief but potent invective against three peoples, the third of whom receives the strongest denunciation. The writer states that his soul is vexed with two ethnic groups (גוים, ἔθνη, *gentes*), the Edomites (with the Hebrew fragments and the Vulgate against the LXX) and the Philistines, and especially with a third group which is “no people” (עם, ἔθνος, *gens*)—the “impious nation” (גוי נבל), or “foolish people” (ὁ λαὸς ὁ μωρός, *stultus populus*), dwelling in Shechem (50:25–26). The long history of antagonism between the Jews and the Edomites and Philistines requires no documentation. The Shechemites are, of course, the people who have resided at that site from the early Greek period to the present day¹—the people who are known in the New Testament² and Josephus³ as the Samaritans and who are called the *Kūṭīm* in Rabbinic literature,⁴

Reprinted from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 24 (1965), 88–94.

¹ Current excavations at this site indicate that Shechem was rebuilt in the early Greek period after having been virtually uninhabited during the Persian period. See L. E. Toombs and G. E. Wright, “The Fourth Campaign at Balāṭah (Shechem),” *BASOR*, 169 (1963), 3; G. E. Wright, “The Samaritans at Shechem,” *HTR*, 55 (1962), 358.

² See Matt. 10:5; Luke 9:52; 10:30–37; 17:16; John 4:1–42; 8:48; Acts 8:25.

³ See, for example, *Antiquities* XI. 302–312, 340–347.

⁴ References are too numerous to catalogue here. The Samaritans are the subject of an extra-Talmudic tractate, *Kūṭīm*. On this, see James Montgomery, *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect* (Philadelphia: J. C. Winston, 1907),

but who call themselves the *Šāmērtm* (i.e., the *observers* of the Law).⁵

This text is a welcome addition to the rather scant collection of early references to Jewish-Samaritan antipathies. It is true that the people of Samaria figure in the frustrations of the returning Jews of the early post-exilic period (so Ezra 4:1-4) and in the political troubles of Nehemiah. We are dependent, nonetheless, upon Josephus, a historian of the first century A.D., for most of our knowledge on early Jewish-Samaritan relations. His personal animus against the Samaritans is so strong, however, that one may seriously ask whether he has not frequently distorted his historical presentation to present the Samaritans in the least favorable light. We can add to this the problem of Josephus' chronology. He has, for example, dated the construction of the Samaritan temple on Gerizim in the early Greek period, but has associated its erection with an incident from the Persian period.⁶ From New Testament references it is known that by the first century A.D. the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans. But these sources say nothing of earlier relations. From Rabbinic materials we learn of the supposed pagan origins of the Samaritans, but we are surprised—or ought to be—that the disputes between Jews and Samaritans are mostly in matters of *halakic* interpretation, or deal with acts of mischief by the Samaritans. In short, the Samaritans are not pagans or even half-pagan, half-Yahwists. They give every appearance of being a Jewish sect

pp. 196-203; L. Gulkowitch, "Der kleine Talmudtractat über die Samariter," *Angelos*, 1 (1925), 48-56. The designation *Kūtīm* is derived from II Kings 17:24. *Kūtā* was one of the Mesopotamian centers from which foreign settlers in eighth-century Samaria were brought by the Assyrians. The expression is thus an opprobrium, meant to underscore the supposed pagan origins of the Samaritans.

⁵ With all due respect to the theological integrity of the Samaritans, the name *Šāmērtm* is obviously a pun on the gentilic *šamrīm*, *šomrīm* or *šōmrōnīm*. The latter form occurs in the Hebrew Bible only in II Kings 17:29. Its association in that context renders it inappropriate for use by the sectarians.

⁶ On this, see Wright, "Samaritans at Shechem," pp. 364-366. The history of research on this problem is surveyed by H. H. Rowley in "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," *BJRL*, 38 (1955), 168-198.

with elements reminiscent of Sadduceeism. Basically, the distinction between Jews and Samaritans is found in the claim of the latter that Gerizim and not Zion (or Shechem and not Jerusalem) is the legitimate center of Hebrew worship—a claim for which the Samaritans have considerable support in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua.⁷ The sectarian writings of the Samaritans also bear witness to their non-pagan status. This literature is, however, late. Except for the Samaritan Pentateuch—with its sectarian interpolations—it is all from the fourth century A.D. and later.

If we accept a date of ca. 180 B.C. for the original work of Ben Sira⁷ and a date of ca. 132 for the translation by his grandson,⁸ we see at once the importance of Ben Sira's invective against the Samaritans. This is one of the few early texts we have, which can be clearly dated to the pre-Roman period, which provides some understanding of the developing rift between the Jews and the Samaritans. The other texts are those passages of Ezra-Nehemiah which allude to relations between Jews and Samaritans (but not the Samaritans at Shechem), and one passage in II Macc. 6:1-2.⁹ To these we might also add a passage from the Testament of Levi 7:1-4, which roughly parallels Ben Sira's invective: "For from this day forward shall

⁷ Only the Pentateuch is accepted as Scripture by the Samaritans. They have, however, their own version of the Book of Joshua. The work is actually a Samaritan chronicle, covering the period from Joshua to the time of Baba Rabbah (fourth century A.D.)—so the edition published by Th. G. J. Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum . . . cui titulus est Liber Josuae* (Leiden, 1848). Manuscripts of this work differ in the period of history treated. See E. Robertson, *Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. II: *The Gaster Manuscripts* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1962), 187-199. Moses Gaster published a Samaritan Hebrew recension (or translation) of the work in "Das Buch Josua in hebräisch-Samaritanischer Rezension," *ZDMG*, 62 (1906), 209-279, 494-549.

⁸ So R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 354.

⁹ Some have claimed to have found allusions to the Samaritan schism in such post-exilic works as Trito-Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah. See, most recently, Mathias Delcor, "Hinweise auf das samaritanische Schisma im alten Testament," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 281-291. These identifications are most tenuous.

Shechem be called a city of imbeciles (*πόλις ἀσυνέτων*); for as a man mocks a fool so do we mock them." The only historical information we have (aside from the Samaritan's own chronological texts) concerning the Samaritans from the time of the construction of their temple in the early Greek period to the time of its destruction by John Hyrcanus in the late second century B.C. is found in Josephus and Maccabees. Although Josephus mentions the Samaritans occasionally in his account of this period, the only significant information he gives concerning them is their acceptance of Hellenization during the time of Antiochus IV (*Ant.* XII. 257-264; see also II Macc. 6:1-2). Although the Samaritans are not given a good report by Josephus at this point, there is no reason to doubt the basic historical reliability of the tradition he preserves, especially since the tradition is preserved in II Maccabees in an only slightly different form.

The importance of Ben Sira's anti-Samaritan text underscores the significance of the unanswered questions which arise from its consideration: What was the occasion of this invective? Why does Ben Sira include it in his work? Why does he introduce it at this particular point? Does it allude to some particular incident or series of incidents in Jewish-Samaritan relations at the beginning of the second century B.C., or is it no more than a reflection of Jewish-Samaritan antipathies in general, or of Ben Sira's personal animus in particular? If one may speak of a "traditional" approach to this text, it would probably be that this reference is simply an isolated datum reflecting Jewish sentiment as a whole, occasioned by a long history of cultural antipathy. Such a position does not preclude speculation concerning a more immediate occasion for Ben Sira's invective. Indeed, such a possibility must be entertained.

The search for some particular occasion of the second century B.C. which might have prompted Ben Sira's denunciation of the Samaritans has frequently settled upon the Hellenization of Shechem in the time of Antiochus IV. Thus, Smend has suggested that Jewish-Samaritan antipathies were intensified during this period because the

Shechemites had made common cause with the Seleucid rulers against the Jews.¹⁰ So too, T. H. Gaster has said: "Under the oppressive regime of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Samaritans appear to have quitted themselves with far less fortitude than the Jews, and it is perhaps for this reason also that they are characterized in Hellenistic Jewish literature as a foolish or churlish people."¹¹ While the Samaritans did adopt a pro-Syrian policy in the time of Antiochus IV, this fact in itself adds little to our understanding of Ben Sira's text.¹² Ben Sira's original work appears to be from before the time of the Antiochan persecutions, and there is no basis for contending that this passage was added by a later hand. Nor can we say that Samaritan policy was consistently pro-Seleucid prior to the time of Antiochus IV. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that Shechem had previously followed a pro-Ptolemaic policy. Just as Jerusalem experienced a number of policy shifts, in pro-Ptolemaic/pro-Syrian policy, so too would Shechem have undergone a comparable experience with the changing political climate of Palestine.

What is generally overlooked in the search for the occasion of Ben Sira's invective is the context in which the author has placed his vituperation. It is found immediately after his glowing account of the priesthood of Simon, son of Onias (50:1-24). It is generally recognized today, since the work of S. Zeitlin and G. F. Moore, that this Simon (Simon II) was the illustrious Simon the Just—of whom we learn much from Rabbinic traditions—and who was confused by Josephus with Simon I.¹³ Because certain anti-Judaic

¹⁰ As noted by W. O. E. Oesterley in his treatment of Sirach in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), I, 511.

¹¹ T. H. Gaster, "Samaritans," in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. R-Z (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 193.

¹² It may, however, have a bearing on the interpretation of Testament of Levi 7:1-4.

¹³ On the identification of Simon the Just, see G. F. Moore, "Simeon the Righteous," in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, G. A. Kohut, ed. (New York: Press of the Jewish Institute of Religion, 1927), pp. 348-364; Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

activities of the Samaritans are noted in Rabbinic traditions as having occurred in the time of Simon the Just, it is perhaps to these that one should look for the occasion of Ben Sira's invective. Ben Sira's admiration of Simon could have prompted his words against the Samaritans if the latter were a source of vexation to the high priest and his career.

Unfortunately, the traditions concerning Simon the Just and the Samaritans are not without their own difficulties. In a scholion to *Megillat Ta'anit* on "the day of Gerizim" there is a story of an attempt by the Samaritans to despoil the Jerusalem temple during the time of Simon—an attempt which was frustrated and which resulted in the mischief being turned back upon the Samaritans themselves.¹⁴ According to this tradition, the Samaritans asked Alexander the Great (sic) for a temple on Mt. Moriah. The context suggests that the purpose of this request was not so much to give the Samaritans a temple there as it was to destroy the Jewish temple. When the Samaritans came to Jerusalem they were driven away. Simon the Just then put on his priestly garments and marched outside of the city to Antripatris, where he met Alexander. (A doublet of this tradition appears in Yoma 69a in the context of the question of the high priest wearing his vestments outside the temple.) The story goes on to relate that Alexander knelt before Simon, explaining to his companions that the image of this man had appeared before him when he went into battle (cf. also *Leviticus Rabbah*, XIII, 5). Thereupon, the Samaritans were punished for their mischief, and Gerizim was plowed under and sowed with an undesirable plant. As a result of this, the day (the 21st of Kislev) was made into a

University Press, 1927), I, 34–36; Solomon Zeitlin, "šm'wn hšdyq wknt hgdwlh," in *nr m'rbay*, 2 (1924), 137–142. I regret that I have been unable to secure this article; I know of it through the work of Moore. See also, Ralph Marcus, *Josephus* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943), vol. VII, appendix B: "The Date of the High Priest Simon the Just (the Righteous)," pp. 732–736.

¹⁴ The text is given by H. Lichtenstein, in "Die Fastenrolle," *HUCA*, 8–9 (1931–1932), 339.

festival day (the "day of Gerizim") on which mourning was prohibited.

The problem in this tradition is that it appears to be a doublet of a tradition preserved in Josephus of an encounter between Alexander the Great and the high priest Jaddua (*Ant.* XI. 326-339). It also appears to preserve elements of the Josephus account of an unfavorable reception of the Samaritans by Alexander (*Ant.* XI. 340-345— which is not to be confused with an earlier account of a favorable reception of the Samaritans, in XI. 321-325). At first, one might be tempted to think that the tradition of an Alexander-Simon encounter in *Megillat Ta'anit* is no more than a secondary development of a prior tradition concerning Alexander and Jaddua—to which the name of Simon has become attached. Most scholars, however, regard the Alexander-Jaddua encounter as purely legendary, and some have suggested that we are to look elsewhere for some historical situation which might have served as its model. Thus, in looking to the *Megillat Ta'anit* scholion, S. Zeitlin has suggested that a tradition concerning a meeting of *Antiochus* the Great and Simon the Just may lie behind the tradition of an encounter between Alexander and Jaddua or may have served as its model.¹⁵ This has much to commend it, inasmuch as there is no historical basis for Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and the encounter with Jaddua.¹⁶ This would mean that there could have been a Jewish tradition concerning a meeting of Simon the Just and Antiochus the Great which became confused in its transmission, so that it is preserved in *Megillat Ta'anit* as a

¹⁵ In "šm'wn hšdyq." So too, G. F. Moore, in "Simeon the Righteous."

¹⁶ Of the ancient sources, only Josephus preserves an account of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem. The classical sources indicate that Alexander marched from Tyre to Gaza and from thence directly to Egypt, with no journey into the interior of Palestine. Certain sources also indicate that it was necessary to put down a rebellion in Samaria after Alexander left Egypt. For a treatment of this material, see Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1959), pp. 41-42. See also Ralph Marcus, *Josephus* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), vol. VI, appendix C: "Alexander the Great and the Jews," pp. 512-532.

meeting of Simon and Alexander and reflected in Josephus as a meeting between Alexander and Jaddua. In each case, the Samaritans are closely related to the story and they fare less favorably than do the Jews. In each account folklore has become fused with history to the extent that it is impossible to say exactly what historical *details* actually lie behind the original account. If the tradition concerning Simon is not a secondary development of Josephus' Alexander-Jaddua encounter, then the scholion to *Megillat Ta'anit* may be considered as giving evidence for some (now obscure) Samaritan-Jewish hostilities in the time of Simon the Just.

There is also some evidence in Josephus for anti-Judean activity by the Samaritans in the time of Simon. While Josephus incorrectly identified Simon I as Simon the Just, he none the less tells us a good deal about Jerusalem in the time of Antiochus III, the time of Simon II (the Just). Josephus states that when Antiochus III defeated the forces of Ptolemy Epiphanes (which were led by Scopas), the Jews in Jerusalem went over to the Seleucid ruler (*Ant.* XII. 133 f). They admitted him to Jerusalem of their own free will, and joined forces with him in besieging the garrison left by Scopas in the citadel of that city. After citing Polybius Megapolis on Antiochus III and referring to three documents in which Antiochus is said to have granted privileges to the Jews, Josephus describes a treaty between Antiochus and Ptolemy. He then adds: "At this time the Samaritans, who were flourishing, did much mischief to the Jews by laying waste their land and carrying off slaves . . ." (*Ant.* XII. 156). Josephus dates this activity in the time of Onias II, son of Simon I and father of Simon II. If it did in fact occur, as he indicates, in the time of Antiochus III, then the high priest would have been Simon II (the Just). Josephus thus provides a collateral witness for the tradition of some kind of anti-Judean action by the Samaritans in the time of Simon the Just.

While the traditions concerning the vexation of the Jews by the Samaritans in the time of Simon are, admittedly, few, they ought

not to be dismissed as unimportant in providing the background for Ben Sira's invective. In fact, they fit into the general political situation of that time very well, and indicate that the Samaritans were opposed to the political policies of the Jerusalem high priest.

Victor Tcherikover has demonstrated conclusively that there was a pro-Seleucid party in Jerusalem prior to the capitulation of that city to Antiochus III, which was made up of the priestly aristocracy—including Simon the Just—and the wealthy Tobiad family of that city (but not including Hyrcanus the Tobiad and the Transjordanian branch of that family).¹⁷ The writer would suggest that the Samaritans followed a concurrent pro-Ptolemaic policy—in opposition to Simon and in agreement with the Transjordanian Tobiads—and that this was the reason behind their harassment of Simon.

Relations between the Samaritans and Tobiads go back to the time of Nehemiah, when Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite were in league against the Judean governor. Tobiah was related by marriage, if not by ancestry, to some influential families in Judah, and the Tobiads continued to be influential in Jerusalem and Transjordan after that time.¹⁸ Continued contact between the Samaritans and the Tobiads can be seen in the traditions concerning the Tobiad tax-farmer Joseph and his son Hyrcanus (*Ant.* XII. 160–236). Joseph was a tax-collector in Palestine for the Ptolemies who succeeded, through his own ingenuity, in becoming one of the most influential and wealthy men in Judah. Josephus states that he was financed in the beginning of his career by "his friends in Samaria" (*Ant.* XII. 168). Joseph the Tobiad, the friend of Samaritans, was succeeded by his son Hyrcanus. We are told, however, that Hyrcanus quarreled

• ¹⁷ *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 81–89.

¹⁸ There is an extensive bibliography on the Tobiads. See, for example, the works cited in Giuseppe Ricciotti, *History of Israel* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1955), II, 465; Victor Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), I, 118. For a concise history of the Tobiads, see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 127–142, 153–174.

with his elder brothers and was driven to the Transjordanian area, where he built, or rebuilt, the ancestral estate at 'Arāq el-'Emir.¹⁹ That this was no mere family quarrel is indicated in the statement of Josephus that Jerusalem was divided into two camps, with the majority, including the high priest Simon, siding with the elder brothers (*Ant.* XII. 228–36). Although Josephus explains this quarrel as arising from the natural abilities of Hyrcanus and the jealousy of his brothers, it was clearly related to the political situation of the day. Simon would have needed popular support when he adopted a pro-Syrian policy. The endorsement of the Tobiads would have been invaluable in this respect. But since Joseph had prospered under the Ptolemies, his youngest son and chosen successor Hyrcanus would certainly have remained loyal to Egypt. The brothers would have had reason to support Simon in his political policy, and Simon, in turn, would have found it advantageous to support the brothers against Hyrcanus.

Abram Spiro in his study of Tobiads and Samaritans in Pseudo-Philo has contended that the Samaritans maintained a lively cultural intercourse with the Transjordanian Tobiads.²⁰ This being the case it is not at all difficult to understand the harassment of the Jerusalem Jews by the Samaritans in the time of Simon. The Shechemites would have supported the Transjordanian Tobiads in their pro-Ptolemaic policy, against the Jerusalem Tobiads and Simon the Just.

When the historian encounters the Samaritans again, however, in the time of Antiochus IV, he finds them following a pro-Syrian policy (*Ant.* XII. 257–64; II Macc. 6:1–2). If I have correctly interpreted the events of the time of Simon the Just, this latter action represents a reversal of Samaritan policy. In fact we find them in agreement with the Tobiads of Jerusalem at this point. Such a shift in political allegiance ought not to be considered out of the question,

¹⁹ On the archeology of 'Arāq el-'Emir, see Paul Lapp, "Soundings at 'Arāq el-'Emir," in *BASOR*, 165 (1962), 16–34.

²⁰ Abram Spiro, "Samaritans, Tobiads and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo," in *PAAJR*, 20 (1951), 315.

for Jerusalem itself experienced a number of such reversals. If Samaritan policy was pro-Ptolemaic in the time of Simon the Just, it could not have remained so for long. Because the Tobiads were divided between a Jerusalem house and a Transjordanian house, the loyalties of the Samaritans would have been (all things being equal) with the Transjordanian Tobiads. When Palestine came under Seleucid control, the Samaritans were forced for reasons of survival to become pro-Syrian, in agreement with the Jerusalem Tobiads. In fact, they may even have incurred some punitive action for their previous policy (hence, "the day of Gerizim" from the scholion to *Megillat Ta'anit*). This would also explain why they readily accepted Hellenization under Antiochus IV.

We conclude, then, that there is evidence of Jewish-Samaritan hostilities in the time of Simon the Just and sufficient reason in the political situation of that time for such hostilities to have been expressed. Ben Sira's admiration for Simon probably prompted his invective against the Samaritans, and caused him to include it at the end of his laudatory hymn for Simon. Although the invective expresses Ben Sira's personal animosity toward the Shechemites, it undoubtedly reflects general Jewish sentiments as well. We are given some insight in this material toward an understanding of the ever-widening breach between Jerusalem and Shechem at the beginning of the second pre-Christian century.²¹

²¹ In this study I have resisted the temptation to treat an interesting Samaritan tradition concerning Samaritan-Jewish hostilities in the time of a certain Judean ruler named Simon. The Samaritan account (given in E. N. Adler and M. Ségisohn, "Une Nouvelle Chronique samaritaine," *REJ*, 45 [1902], 71) describes a Samaritan assault on Jerusalem and the subsequent reprisals of the Jews. The identity of this Simon is not at all clear. Adler suggests that he was Simon Maccabee, a thesis which is given support by some manuscripts of the Chronicle of Abu'l Fath which state that this ruler had a son named Hyrcanus (see E. Vilmar, *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani* [Gotha, 1865], p. lix). The identification is still disputed. Unfortunately, the Samaritan chronicles treat this Simon prior to their consideration of Alexander the Great! I have not introduced the material into my discussion. Personally, I am inclined to think that this Samaritan tradition may be related to the problem of Simon the Just and the Samaritans.

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I. Scripts of the Lachish Ostraca

xwq 8 m 2 0 F 1 5 L 7 4 0 B 5 8 A 4 1 9 F
x 4 13 7 0 7 5 L 7 2 4 = 3 4 1 9 F
9 F 2 2 1 5 4 9 F
x 4 F

II. Scripts of the Hasmonaean Coins

1. John Hyrcanus coin (Birnbaum, 47)
2. John Hyrcanus coin (Birnbaum, 48)
3. Judas Aristobulus coin (Birnbaum, 49)
4. Alexander Jannaeus coin (Birnbaum, 50)
5. Alexander Jannaeus coin (Reifenberg, *IHC*, 2)
6. John Hyrcanus II coin (Birnbaum, 51)
7. Antigonus Mattathias coin (Reifenberg, *IHC*, 3)
8. Antigonus Mattathias coin (Birnbaum, 54)

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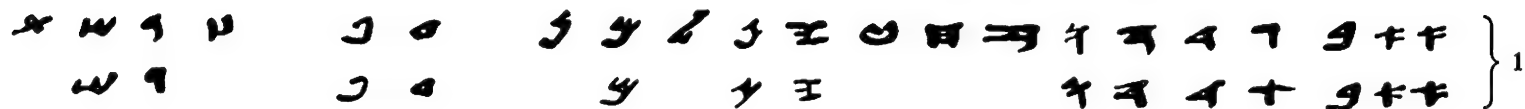
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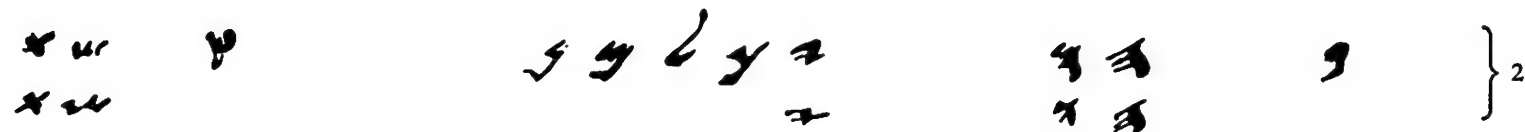
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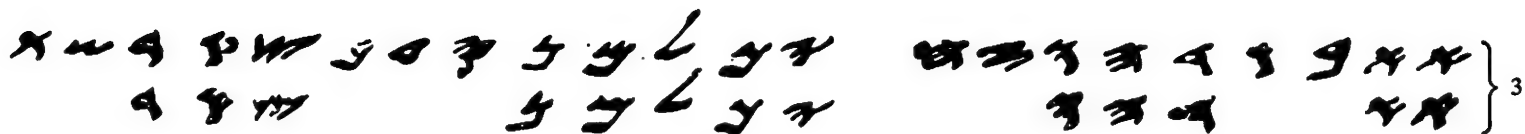
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				8		2		
X	4	7	J	B	f	3	4	} 8
					f	3	3	

III. Scripts of the Qumrân Manuscripts

1. Exodus fragment (4Q Ex ^a)
2. Genesis fragment (6Q 1)
3. Leviticus fragment (1Q Lev)
4. Leviticus fragment (2Q 5)
5. Leviticus fragment (6Q 2)
6. ^{iel} fragment (Birnbbaum, 53)
7. Tetragrammaton from 1Qp Hab. (Birnbbaum, 52)







x w. A	2 0 7 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	3 4 5 6 7 8 9	} 4
x	7	3 4 5 6 7 8 9	

w 1 4	4 5 6 7 8 9	3 4 5 6 7 8 9	} 5
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IV. Scripts of the Jewish Coins and Ostraca of the First Revolt

1. Year two (Deliverance of Zion) (Reifenberg, *IHC*, 26)
2. Deliverance of Zion (Yadin, *Masada*, p. 98)
3. Shekel of Israel, year four (Birnbaum, 55)
4. Jerusalem the Holy, reverse of 3 (Birnbaum, 56)
5. Half-shekel, year four (Birnbaum, 57)
6. Jerusalem the Holy, reverse of 5 (Birnbaum, 58)
7. Ostraca from Masada (Yadin, *Masada*, p. 190)

x	w		y	y	n						1
			y		n	H	f				2
w	a	p		L	n			A		F	3
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w	a		y	L	n		f	E	A		6
					n				A		7

V. Scripts of the Jewish Coins of the Second Revolt

- | | |
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| 1. Simon (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 48) | 8. Freedom of Jerusalem (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 41) |
| 2. Simon (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 37) | 9. Freedom of Jerusalem (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 47) |
| 3. Simon, Prince of Israel (Birnbaum, 59) | 10. Freedom of Israel (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 40) |
| 4. Eleazar (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 39) | 11. Redemption of Israel, year one (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 43) |
| 5. Eleazar, mirror writing, reversed (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 42) | 12. Redemption of Israel, year one (Birnbaum, 60) |
| 6. Jerusalem (Birnbaum, 61) | 13. Redemption of Zion (Birnbaum, 63) |
| 7. Freedom of Jerusalem (Reifenberg, <i>IHC</i> , 38) | 14. Year four and a half, obverse of 12 (Birnbaum, 62) |

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ω 9		י	ל	ז		π	6
x ω 9 9		י	ל	ז	י	† †	7
x ω 9 9		י		ז	י	†	8

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12	7	7		日	7		5			b	m	x
11	7	7			7		5			b	m	x
10	5	*		日	7					b	b	m
9			7	日	7	5				b	b	m

VI. Early Samaritan Scripts

1. First Emmaus inscription
2. Third Emmaus inscription
3. El-Mā inscription
4. Salbit mosaic
5. Early Gaza inscription
6. Mt. Nebo inscriptions
7. Sychar inscription
8. Shechem decalogue inscription
9. Leeds fragment inscription

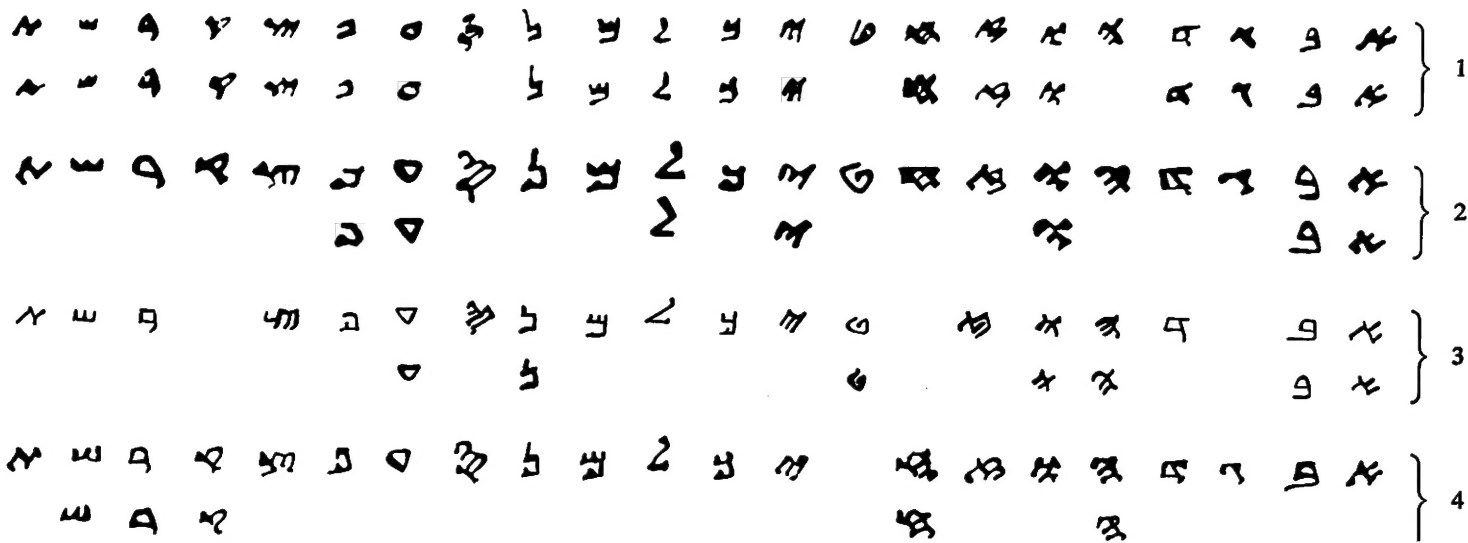
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			2 3 4 5 6 7 8	9		
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VII. Late Samaritan Scripts

1. Manchester fragment (Birnbaum, 70)
2. 'abiša^c scroll
3. Eleazar inscription

4. Twelfth century Pentateuch codex (Birnbaum, 72)
5. Twelfth century Pentateuch scroll (Birnbaum, 73)
6. Sixteenth century Pentateuch codex (Birnbaum, 74)



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